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ART. I.—*The Frontier Lands of the Christian and Turk: comprising Travels in the Regions of the Lower Danube, in 1850–51.* By a British Resident of Twenty Years in the East. 2 Vols. 8vo. London: Bentley. 1853.

It is not, perhaps, a matter of abstract necessity that every form of civilization should, in its turn, pass through the phases of stagnation, decay, and decomposition. We can imagine the possibility of some favoured race so lending itself to the purposes of Providence, as to keep up with the march of humanity, and undergo its successive transformations without violence. Hitherto, however, no such goodly sight has presented itself in real history. One form of civilization after another has risen, thriven for a season, failed in appropriating some essential element of conservation or development, and disappeared, to make way for others; so that human progress can be characterized as a long conflict, marked at intervals by "nations dying with their gods."

The lessons to be drawn from this chequered history were long comparatively disregarded; but the world is growing older and more thoughtful, and the present generation, among Christian nations at least, is more disposed than any of the preceding to look back upon the road over which mankind has toiled, treasuring up its remembrances, rendering long-forgotten scenes and persons once more familiar, and discovering and deciphering the records of extinct civilization. We have learned to interpret great changes with reference to their moral causes, and no longer look upon conquests as exclusively results of physical force or military skill. All earnest thinkers, even those who are themselves little influenced by any religious principle, have come to see that the religion which is at the foundation of any given people's social life and political institutions, is the secret of that

people's strength or of its weakness. It is for this reason that we can prepare to behold the last moments of the once mighty Ottoman Empire with more intelligent interest than other generations can have felt upon witnessing similar spectacles.

The evils which are hurrying Turkey to dissolution are not such as, taken in themselves severally, or even all together, would be incurable, were there not at the bottom the radical principle from which they have originated, and which obliges us to pronounce those symptoms fatal, that would otherwise only be dangerous. In the European half of the Empire, for instance, the Moslems have to maintain in subjection a population three or four times more numerous than themselves. In other countries this danger and disadvantage could be remedied, by making friends and equals of the subject people, as has been done in Ireland under similar circumstances, and with races in about the same proportion; but this is impossible here. Unless the Turk renounce the fundamental maxims of the creed that sent him forth on the world with a scimitar in his right hand, the Christian must be treated as an inferior, who can only be allowed to exist by sufferance. There can be no amalgamation between the conqueror and the subject; the Koran has put an impassable barrier between them; they are, and must remain, aliens to each other. Nay, such is the utter and irremediable exclusiveness of Islamism, that true believers cannot enter into the same civil organization with Christians; they cannot be authorities in the same village; so that, wherever the Turks did not exterminate the Christians, they were obliged to leave these last a sort of subordinate municipal order of their own, the Commune choosing its own Judges, and distributing among its members their several portions of the burdens imposed upon the whole. This system has, in a high degree, contributed to maintain the distinct nationality of the *Rayahs*, as the Christians are called; it has facilitated the independence of those who have shaken off the yoke, and will do so on a larger scale. Thus the emancipation of the Greek, and of the wild borderer of the Danube, was partially prepared by the very extreme of disdain and aversion with which they were regarded.

The oppressions of the administration, the corruption of public functionaries, the neglect of the vast mineral and agricultural resources of the country, the squalid poverty of the people, the uncertain tenure of property, the financial embarrassments, menacing national bankruptcy,—these are evils with which, in other countries, enlightened energy could grapple; but here, they are the result of the theocratic character which has made the Turkish people what they are, and is the base of all their institutions. For the Mahometan, despotism is the law of the universe: his God is a despot, stern and terrible, almighty *Will* without any bowels of tenderness or compassion, who seeks not for children, but for subjects, and has intrusted a military hierarchy

with the apostleship of the sword. Hence, every attempt to introduce an element of liberty into Turkish institutions is found to clash with the very spirit of their civilization. The arbitrary power of the meanest Aga in his sphere is representative of that which the Sultan wields in his; and to limit either is to violate divine order. The Turk cannot cultivate the arts of peace with the same settled purpose that others do; for his mission is one of war and conquest; he is like a military colonist, encamped, rather than established, in Europe. Or if, yielding to circumstances and to the instinct of the real calling of man, he do turn artisan, agriculturalist, miner, he cannot condescend to borrow the profane science of the infidels; for his own superiority is, in his mind, one great evidence of the truth of his religion. He cannot so much as entertain the idea of human progress; for Mahomet did but attempt to restore the abstract monotheism, which he conceived had been the starting-point of the Jewish faith twenty-six centuries before; so that the world began its history over again, without anything new to learn or to do. Strange connexion between the general tendencies of a national character and the most minute details! The haughty gravity with which the Turk retains the costume of his predecessors, and smiles at our frivolous changes of fashion, is just one of the harmless exhibitions of an incurable, inflexible conservatism.

Turkey has to guard against the encroachments of one of the first military powers in the world, mistress of her frontiers, and bent upon her conquest with an ardent ambition, that has been bequeathed from generation to generation. But, sustained as she is by the political interests of the rest of Europe, Turkey need not fear even Russia, if she could be sure of her own population. This she is not, and cannot be: the interests and affections of just that half of the empire which is most exposed to danger, go with the enemy; and, while the Græco-Sclavonians are increasing in numbers, in wealth, and in intelligence, the Moslem population is being gradually diminished, partly by the misery produced through the operation of causes above mentioned, partly by immorality and polygamy. But this latter element of decay cannot be corrected any more than the others:—it is consecrated by the Koran.

Bitter experience has, indeed, taught the higher ranks to feel their inferiority, and that their national existence depends upon assimilation to European civilization. Of course, if this conviction carried them far enough, it would become a means of social and political regeneration; but no people can either do without a religious system, or avoid undergoing the influences of this religious system, so long as it is looked upon as true. Nothing short of embracing Christianity could thoroughly emancipate the Turks from the consequences of their past training; and of this there is not, apparently, the slightest immediate prospect. Hence, the consciousness of inferiority in the arts of both peace

and war only leads those who feel it to despondency, or to an apathetic acquiescence in the decrees of inexorable fate. The follower of the Prophet, unable to conquer, and yet unwilling to renounce his mission as a delusion, still grasps his broken sword, instead of turning it into a ploughshare. The fever has been followed by collapse; and the faith that once made him the terror of the world, is his weakness now. Under these circumstances, the attempts that have been made at improvement in various ways, at administrative and financial reform in particular, have proved to be but half measures, condemned to inevitable failure; new pieces sewn upon the old garment, making the rent worse, and demonstrating the impossibility of patching up a worn-out order of things with fragments borrowed from a society that had been created by a principle essentially different. The same experiment of superficial *Europeanization* was made in Turkey Proper and in Egypt; and it has failed, even in the latter, though Mehemet Ali had to contend with no ambitious Christian neighbours, and with no indigenous Christian population of any importance, there being but a hundred thousand Copts remaining in the Valley of the Nile.

The disbanding of the Janissaries by Mahmoud II. in 1823, was a necessary preliminary to reform; but if the thought of this measure was suggested by a certain amount of enlightened policy, its execution could not be effected otherwise than by an awful massacre, genuine, native Turkish; and those fierce bands can never be replaced. Before the present menaced rupture with Russia, the regular army nominally consisted of 150,000 men, infantry and cavalry, with 10,000 artillery; but well-informed authorities reckoned the effective infantry force at only 78,000 men, and the cavalry at 17,000, costing even then more than one-third of the revenue. The warlike preparations made with so much noise during the last few months seem to have chiefly consisted in the calling to arms half-disciplined and fanatical Redifs from all parts of Asia Minor; but no *authentic* information about the numbers and character of the troops encamped at Schumla and Rustulk has reached this country, while the Russian army on both sides of the Pruth is known to be 120,000 strong, with 300 pieces of artillery.

In 1837, it was forbidden by an edict to give a Christian the opprobrious epithet, *giaour*, "dog." Here is, certainly, a symptom of increasing respect for human nature out of the pale of Islamism; but it cannot reconcile the *Rayah* to Turkish legislation; for, though no longer called a dog, he is still treated like one. His testimony is of no validity before the Turkish tribunals; so that he is in the same position, in this respect, as the slaves in part of the United States, exposed, without legal defence or redress, to the thousand insults and exactions of his masters. The empty compliment only teaches the Christians that they are beginning to be formidable; while the continuance of their

practical outlawry is an excuse for the several European Governments to insist upon an exceptional jurisdiction within the Empire, in order to protect their own subjects. The simple exhibition of an English, French, or Austrian passport is enough to screen from Turkish justice the stranger who has committed the most audacious violations of the laws of the country,—an abuse of which our Maltese and Ionian islanders are not slow to avail themselves. So that the privilege of tyrannizing over the best part of the indigenous population is retained, at the cost of the most humiliating subserviency to foreigners. Nay, further still, it justifies the interferences of Russia and Austria, and their claim to be the officially recognised protectors of even the native subjects of the Porte,—a political *cicisbeism* intolerable to any Government, and which is rapidly preparing the dismemberment of the Empire. The kidnapping of Colonel Kossta at Smyrna is a recent instance of the arrogance with which the agents of the great European powers act as masters in the Turkish territory.

The greatest step made towards a better order of things was the famous edict promulgated Nov. 3rd, 1839, shortly after the accession of Abdul-Medjid, and generally known by the name *Hatti-sherif of Gulhane*. The reforms the Sultan proposed effecting were especially these three:—*First*, to assure security for the life, honour, and property of all Ottoman subjects; *Secondly*, to provide a regular mode of distributing and levying taxes, and the total abolition of the iniquitous system of farming them to the highest bidder; *Thirdly*, to organize a regular conscription, and limit the time of military service. When this manifesto appeared, breathing the most generous and philanthropic spirit, all Western Europe applauded. The innate materialism, which makes men so readily content with slight superficial reform in their own case, led them to hail the promise of a new era for Turkey, as if a great nation were about to change its ways, without any living spiritual principle of regeneration. How little those expectations were answered, is notorious. It is true, indeed, that Pachas had no longer legally the exorbitant prerogative of life and death, could not publicly inflict capital punishment without an express order from Constantinople, and were forbidden in any case to inflict it privately; yet, prisoners continued to die in their cells whenever it was the Pacha's pleasure. It is true, that a Judge, or *Cadi*, could only order a certain number of stripes to be inflicted at a time; but he might with impunity renew the punishment at as short intervals as he pleased. It is true, that Mussulmen could be punished for insulting, pillaging, or ill-treating Christians; but then, some other Mussulman must be found to come forward and give evidence. In short, neither functionaries nor people could be brought to act in the spirit of the edict.

Under the old system, when the Pachas wielded the most terrible and irresponsible power, they generally, at least,

protected their provinces from all spoliation, except their own. Moreover, every man had a right to carry arms, and use them, if necessary, in his own defence; but when Turkey undertook to copy European institutions, and intrust the security of individuals to the public force only, she just succeeded in making Governors powerless against the turbulent, without depriving them of the means of oppressing the industrious. She disarmed the inhabitants of the towns and the peaceable agriculturalists; while whole tribes, such as the ferocious Kurds, and nests of banditti in every corner of the Empire, retained their arms, and pillaged whom they pleased. Of course, in those provinces where the Christians are in the minority, as in Bosnia and in all Asia Minor, they suffered more cruelly than any of the rest of the population; but the evil was felt throughout the Empire. The Porte is just enough of a regular Government to hinder its subjects from protecting themselves, while it is itself unable to protect them effectually, for two reasons,—because the authorities are often in secret intelligence with the brigands, and because, even when disposed to do their duty, they have not always the means. An intelligent and trustworthy traveller, Tchihatchef, who spent many years in Asia Minor, says that in 1847 the Governor of the province of Bozok had but eighty-two irregular soldiers under his orders; while seven or eight thousand armed Kurds exacted contributions from the inhabitants, and turned vast herds of sheep and camels into their crops,—an outrage which is repeated yearly.

No Gladstone can be found to settle the Turkish budget; for production must precede taxation; and security of property is the first condition of production in any shape, agricultural or manufacturing. Now, a Government whose very existence was avowedly an embodying of the supremacy of physical force, and which still retains the theory,—a Theocracy whose proselytism is that of the sabre,—cannot but deal arbitrarily with the persons and properties of its subjects; and the inferior functionaries cannot but imitate the authority which has appointed them; and the ruder and bolder part of the people cannot but put the same principle in practice, and turn brigands on their own account. All promises to the contrary notwithstanding, the taxes continue to be farmed out to speculators, most frequently Pachas themselves, or to others high in office; and these again let them out at a premium to inferior agents, who extort as much as they can. Hence a great part of the taxes levied never finds its way into the public treasury, except it be now and then from the summary confiscation of the goods of some dignitary, more rapacious or less dexterous than his fellows; and the Government is not enriched, while the people are impoverished. It is surely no wonder that the vast natural resources of the Ottoman Empire should remain unemployed, its people sunk in ignorance, apathy, and discouragement, its rich provinces not even connected together by roads. It is pretended, with a little exaggeration, doubtless, that there is no more effec-

tual way of impeding intercourse between two places, than the setting Turkish engineers to make a road between them; so barbarous are their attempts at paving, by heaping stones together in a row; but, happily, they seldom undertake the task. The amount of the public revenue is kept secret; but, from such *data* as can be ascertained, it is conjectured to be about six hundred millions of piastres, that is, less than six millions sterling, which was enough for the expenses of the rude primitive sort of Government that existed thirty years ago, but not for the system which has been since on trial; so that expenditure has gone on increasing in a most frightful proportion, for a time of peace; and, during these last years, the excess is supposed to amount annually to half as much as the entire income. It is evident that the expenses to which the Porte has been recently driven, in order to maintain a respectable belligerent attitude, are as great a drain upon its financial resources, as positive war would be to those of any other State. The Sultan's melting down the plate he had inherited from his mother, and his being allowed without a protest to appropriate the funds of the mosques, are symptoms of distress as well as zeal; and every month that the arts of Russian diplomatists can prolong this ruinous state of armed negotiation, is almost as great an injury as would be inflicted in a moderately successful campaign. The Turk is like a wounded champion, on whom his adversary need waste no blows; for he will bleed to death, if only obliged to stand up, and wield his arms.

The final proof of the impossibility of engrafting Christian institutions upon Moslem civilization is, that the Porte itself, this last winter, came to the resolution of giving up the attempt. The most practicable and forcible part of the Hatti-sherif of Gulhane was annulled by the restoration of their old despotic authority to the Pachas and local Governors. To what extent it was intended to return to primitive barbarous traditions, remains a secret; for, since the mission of Prince Menschikoff, the Porte has assured the representatives of the European powers of its desire to treat the Christians with all justice and humanity; but it evidently did propose to seek for safety in a revival of the national spirit. Hence the refusal, at a great pecuniary loss, to accept the loan which had been negotiated with English and French capitalists; and hence the renewal of the oft-foiled attempt to conquer the Montenegrins in their mountain fastnesses. This was, indeed, a line of conduct that could only be dictated by despair. The old system was slowly carrying the empire to ruin, as the preamble of the Hatti-sherif rightly says: for the previous hundred and fifty years (dating from about the Treaty of Carlowitz probably) weakness and poverty had been gradually taking the place of power and prosperity. The new system accelerated the process of decay; a return to the old would certainly precipitate it. If the old garment was endangered by the sewing on of a new piece, the rent would only be made immediate and irreparable

by violently tearing it off. Sad alternative, between a system proved impracticable by the experience of twenty years, and a return to a system proved ruinous by the experience of centuries! Partial reform only made the necessity for total reform more urgent; but total reform would be the negation of the religious principle of Mahometanism. Never was the supreme importance of moral causes more strikingly illustrated in human history, than by the weakness, the oscillations, and the final helplessness of this great empire. Its Mahometan population has no longer fanaticism enough to save it, but just enough to put it in peril. They can never again render the standard of the Prophet formidable to Christian armies; but they can goad and exasperate the Christians that are in their power, and at once provoke and authorize, more and more, the interested interference of Austria and Russia. It is notorious that the Rayahs of Bosnia and of Hertzegovina have suffered great cruelties and wrongs, of late, from the revived brutality of their neighbours; and it is reported that, just a fortnight before last Easter, the Turkish Government discovered a plot to exterminate the Greeks and Franks at Constantinople. The conspirators were Mollahs come for the purpose from different provinces, and the pupils of the schools of the theology belonging to the mosque of the Sultan Mahmoud. The schools have been shut up, and those desperadoes sent home; but what security is there that the explosion thus happily prevented may not, sooner or later, break out irresistibly in the capital or elsewhere? Diplomats generally think all the world as calculating and unimpassioned as themselves. They could not, for instance, for long years bring themselves to understand the deathless enthusiasm, with which awakened Greece *would*, in spite of all remonstrances, fight for her freedom; as little—or rather, much less—can they fathom the fire-depths of religious feeling, whether in a state of healthy or morbid excitement. So, when they have given the Porte a little good advice, they think the evil day has been warded off; but they may be startled from their slumber one day, by news of such scenes taking place on the sunny shores of the Bosphorus, or in the luxuriant valleys of Asia Minor, as must, in spite of diplomacy, seal the doom of the Turkish Empire immediately and for ever.

The objection naturally presents itself,—How can we attribute the decline and approaching fall of the Ottomans to their religion, when they were once themselves so powerful, and when the Arabs, before them, not only carried their victorious arms from the Himalayas to Gibraltar, but made science flourish at Cordova and Bagdad, traded at once with the north of Europe and with India and China, invented algebra, and built the Alhambra? The answer is ready. Experience has shown that civilizations, the vital principle of which is defective, may yet accomplish a great deal, and carry races onward to a certain degree of development. That degree once attained, if the race can be kept stationary, or nearly so,—if there be nothing to solicit

further progress,—then both religion and people can survive, in a sort of fossil state, for thousands of years, as has been the case in the extreme East. In western Asia and Europe, however, the trumpet-call to advance has never ceased resounding; and the various successive forms of religion and society, when unable any longer to answer that imperious call, must needs make room for others; as plants growing on a soil too light are green at first, and blossom with fair promise, but wither up when nature summons them to produce seed; or as human beings of feeble constitution can increase in bulk and vigour during childhood, but pine and die when they reach the critical period of adult development. Christianity alone has shown itself, twice over, capable of surviving the shipwreck of old societies, and of creating new ones; capable of responding to every call upon its resources, and of guiding mankind through every stage of their long pilgrimage. When the Arabs, inspired by the mighty conception of the unity of God, set out to conquer the world, the intense excitement naturally called all their faculties into exercise. They soon borrowed whatever science India could bestow. Armenian literature and translations made them acquainted with the treasures of ancient Greece. In the spheres of mathematics and physics they themselves made respectable additions to the sum of human knowledge, or of the instruments of acquiring knowledge; and they had their short day of intellectual pre-eminence; but they could not retain it. Their civilization, like that of Egypt, and Babylon, and Persia, and Greece, and Rome in succession, had no deep-lying, indestructible, saving principle to communicate to the world; and it gave way, not because of external violence merely, but essentially from internal insufficiency. It was necessary, in order to complete the great circle of experiments in human history, that abstract monotheism should be put upon its trial somewhere; and it could not have a more favourable trial, than at a time when the western half of the Christian society was broken to pieces, and the eastern half was in a state of inanition. But the trial is over now: we know what fruits an abstract monotheism is capable of producing; it may even be added,—we know how long it takes to work itself out. There were eight centuries from the beginning of Mahomet's preaching to the expulsion of the Moors from Spain; and there have been nearly eight centuries from the first appearance of the Seljuk Turks, in 1092, until the present time, when their descendants are precisely in the state that the Moors were in, on the eve of their expulsion. In the centre of Africa, on the contrary, Mahometan civilization, such as it is, is on the advance, gradually assimilating fresh tribes to itself, and journeying south, because it has only to compete with Fetichism.

Part of European Turkey was subdued, and Adrianople made its capital, for nearly a hundred years before that memorable 1453, when Mahomet II. planted the crescent on the tower of Constantinople; and, during this long period, the Greek Empire

existed by a kind of sufferance, until it became the convenience of the conqueror to strike the decisive blow. By an emphatic retribution, the Turkish State is now in precisely similar circumstances; dying by inches, propped up by the pillows of diplomacy, until some relaxation in the vigilance of the European powers, or some project of dismemberment accepted by them, or the impatience of his own Christian population, or the revived fanaticism of the Moslems, give the signal of his fall. Another great conquering Empire is about to descend heavily into the metropolis of nations; the tenants of the grave may be summoned from beneath to meet her: the mighty dead—Pharaohs, Persian, Greek, and Roman—rise from their sepulchral chambers, and hail the last of the Ottomans: “Art thou also become weak as we are? Art thou become like unto us? Thy pomp is brought down to the grave, and the noise of thy viols. The worm is become thy couch, and the earth-worm thy coverlet.” Our descendants will speak of the time when the Turks were in the south-east of Europe, as we do of the time when the Moors were in the south-west; but the parallel is so far inexact, that future travellers will not find in Constantinople those monuments of Mahometan art and grandeur which we admire in Spain.

Assuming the fall or the metamorphose of the Turkish Empire to be but a question of time, it is naturally asked, What is to come after it? Unfortunately, we know, from the example of Spain, that the cross may succeed the crescent, without any perceptible moral benefit to humanity. One Mahometan expulsion on a grand scale cost Europe much blood and many cruelties, and was followed by no commensurate results: what will be the manner and the issue of the second? Without attempting any positive answer to this momentous question, let us, at least, try to form as correct an idea as possible of the numbers, religious and moral state, political tendencies and relations of the Christian populations which, on the European side of the Bosphorus at least, are preparing to supplant their masters. We shall first take the provinces separately, and then review the whole. It must be premised that, upon the important head of population, calculations are very uncertain in a country in which registers and a regular census are unknown. They now exist, indeed, in the Principalities of the Danube, but not in the provinces under the immediate sway of the Porte. We can only try to approximate to the truth by comparing authorities. The first volume of Wigger's *Kirchliche Statistik* exhibits, perhaps, the most exact view of the relative strength of the different religious communities; but their absolute strength appears to be somewhat understated.

Let us begin with Moldavia and Wallachia. They are inhabited by the mixed race called *Roumans*, consisting of the old Dacian stock, latinized by numerous Roman colonies, and mingled, at a later period, with Bulgarians and other Slavonic emigrants. They speak a dialect derived from Latin; and their

religion is that of the Greek Church. Turkish Moldavia has 1,430,000 inhabitants; Wallachia, 2,420,000: a multitude of Gypsies are included in the census. Those provinces opening in rich broad plains to the north-east have been successively over-run by all the barbarians who have come from the steppes of Asia, and have been the constant theatre of their wars with the nations of the west and south, as they were more recently the battle-field of the Turks and Russians. Their native Princes were alternately allies and vassals of the Hungarians, the Poles, and the Turks. At the peace of Adrianople, in 1829, they were at last constituted distinct states, tributary to the Porte, and protected by the Czar, it being moreover agreed that, for the future, no Mahometans should be allowed to settle north of the Danube. The tribute amounts to three millions of piastres, not quite £30,000. The *Hospodars* were to be chosen, at first, for seven years, (but it has been since determined, for life,) by an electoral college of Boyards of two classes, of Bishops, and Deputies of districts. The National Assembly consists, also, of Bishops, Boyards, and Deputies; but it cannot meddle with external organic change. The Clergy, more especially the superior Clergy, are the docile instruments of Russia; and the Russian Consuls at Bucharest and Jassy are practically Lords-lieutenant, disposing of all favours, and, by mingled corruption and intimidation, holding in their hands the reins of government.

A considerable part of Moldavia, all that lay on the left bank of the Pruth, had been ceded to Russia in 1812. There are, also, more than two millions of Roumans living under the sceptre of Austria, in Transylvania; so that they present the melancholy spectacle of a people divided between three masters, and retained in barbarism by a very corrupt form of Christianity, and by ages of misgovernment. All the refinements of modern civilization exist among the Nobles and wealthier class; while the Priests are extremely ignorant and immoral, the people cowardly, indolent, and, in every sense, degraded. Yet trade is increasing; Galacz has been called the Alexandria of the Danube; a feeling of nationality is beginning to develop itself, and to spread across the political and conventional boundaries that separate the members of the same race; Transylvanian and Wallachian peasants learn to chant the same old national ballads, and new patriotic songs. The news of the French Revolution of 1848 fell upon the Turkish Roumans, upon the inhabitants of Bucharest and Jassy in particular, like a spark upon a train of gunpowder, showing that a desire of social progress and a dislike to Russia had been growing upon them. They did not immediately attempt to depose their respective Hospodars, but insisted upon a total change in the management of affairs, and proclaimed the enfranchisement of serfs, that first necessary step towards a more advanced civilization. This was in the course of that eventful year. Russia lost no time in occupying the Principalities with an overwhelming

force. Stout old Riza Pacha would have insisted upon their being evacuated, and, if needs be, fought it out: but the Porte felt itself unsustained by the other powers of Europe. Even England, its most natural ally under the circumstances, was in a fit of absence or short-sighted indifference; so Riza Pacha was dismissed from the ministry, the liberal movement in the Principalities crushed, and the parish Priests ordered to pray for the Emperor Nicholas. This first occupation ceased after a few months; but, by the convention of Balta-Liman, the sword was kept suspended over those provinces, if they should prove refractory. Thus Russia availed herself of the distracted state of Europe in the years 1848 and 1849, to crush a suffering people, and retard their political and social progress; but she reigns by force, not sympathy; and her rough courtship can hardly win the affections of the Roumans. The present occupation bears a character of insult to the Porte, rather than of hostility to the inhabitants of the provinces themselves; and the first act of the Divan of Moldavia, upon its assembling at Jassy on the 27th of June, was to vote an address of devotion to the Czar. It is to be hoped this is a mere compliment. We do not profess to fathom the Emperor Nicholas's intentions: he may evacuate the provinces more readily and earlier than we dare expect; but, in any case, this crossing and recrossing of the Pruth is a bad habit and a temptation: neither the Russians nor the Roumans should be allowed to accustom themselves to it. We cannot forget that the change of protection into appropriation is a long established rule of Muscovite policy. The Crimea was declared independent of the Porte in 1774, and Catherine II. took possession of it in 1783.

Between the Balkan and the Danube are spread the fertile plains of Bulgaria. It is said the original stock of the Bulgarians came from the banks of the Volga, and it was supposed they were most nearly related to the Finnish race and to the Magyars; but it is to be inferred from their language that they are principally of Slavonic origin, their dialect remaining, however, very distinct from the Illyrio-Servian dialects spoken on their west. They were once the terror of the degenerate Greek Empire, but were subdued by the Turks in 1396, and are now distinguished by a character of mildness, if not servility. They may be roughly computed at four millions, of whom about 300,000 have become Mussulmen. The rest are Greek Christians, very low, indeed, in the scale of civilization, sunk in ignorance and filth. The higher Clergy, imprudently chosen by the Turks in the monasteries of Mount Athos and its dependencies, are the complaisant servants of the Russian court; yet the laity refused to take arms for Russia in the war of 1828, feeling instinctively that it would be but a change of masters. The Bulgarians are accused, by their neighbours, of having lost even the desire of liberty, during their long servitude; yet there was a stir among the Heidukes at the beginning of the Greek insurrection;

and Marc Botzaris, the hero of Missolonghi, was one of them. Again, in 1841, an outrage offered to a young woman produced an insurrection in the Balkan, which was not quelled without trouble and bloodshed. The influence of Greece is now very strongly felt in this province; and its importance increases with the increase of navigation in the Danube and the Black Sea.

Travelling westward along the northern frontier of the Empire, we come to Servia. This is a natural fortress,—one large valley surrounded by the highest mountains in European Turkey. Its 900,000 inhabitants belong to the Greek Church, except about 12,000 Mussulmen. They speak one of the most harmonious of the Slavonic dialects, are a spirited and chivalrous people, remarkable for their strong domestic affections and their love of liberty, more moral than any of their co-religionists, more active than any except the Greeks. Servia had independent Princes for many ages; it then got involved in the long and bloody strife between Turkey and Hungary. The fatal battle lost in the plain of Corsovo, in 1389, is the great disaster in the annals of this people, and is as present to their remembrances as if it took place but yesterday; as is also the death of their good Prince Cazasus, and that of the victor Amurath too, killed upon the field of battle by a wounded and dying Servian. This has been the ever-recurring theme of popular song and lament, down to a very recent tragedy by Milutinowicz. After repeatedly changing masters, the Servians remained subjects of the Porte in 1739. Early in the present century, goaded by the exactions of the Janissaries, they took up arms, defended themselves with great valour under the famous Czerni George, and co-operated with the Russians in the campaigns of 1809–1812. The treaty of Bucharest secured them an amnesty. The last war which broke out between Russia and Turkey was the signal for a more successful struggle; and in 1830 their partial independence was recognised by the Porte. The Servians have neither Nobles nor serfs; they are all free, and are generally owners of the fields they cultivate. This is the only country in which circumstances have permitted the establishment of that patriarchal democracy, which liberal Slavonians declare to be the ideal towards which tend the aspirations of their race, and the only form of democracy suited to propagate itself among them. All families are equal; but the head of the family only enjoys electoral rights. From the national representatives, chosen by this peculiar kind of suffrage, the Prince selects a ministry and a sort of privy council, in which all laws submitted to the Assembly are first discussed, the Assembly itself having the right of accepting or rejecting them, but not that of taking the initiative, or introducing laws without the approbation of the council. The Prince himself is elected for life. The Slavonic mind is given to hero-worship; it has great reverence for, and confidence in, superior energy and capacities; and writers of that race who

wish for the development of native free institutions, rather than the importation of foreign ones, are accustomed to represent this system as happily combining the equality of all with practical government by the great and good, the self-respect of the free-man with the Slavonian's mystic reverence for his natural superiors.

The Porte has only reserved to itself the citadel of Belgrade, (the garrison of which it may, if necessary, increase to 9,000 men,) and a tribute to be levied by native officers. The Servians are connected with Austria by old historical associations, and by the fact that a considerable Servian population lives under the Austrian sceptre, in Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. They should, apparently, be still more connected with Russia by the ties of a common religion, a common origin, a kindred language, and the services they have received from that colossal power; but there exists a counterbalancing principle of antagonism, in the democratic tendencies of a hardy and energetic people. Even the clergy are not devoted to Russia as they are elsewhere, perhaps because they are recruited exclusively in their own province, and do not come from monasteries where the Russian influence predominates. The high dignitaries of the church receive, indeed, rich presents from the Czar, but maintain a footing of reserve. The tyranny of Russia over Poland has produced upon the minds of the Servians a feeling that the protection of their autocrat cousin is more to be dreaded than the superannuated despotism of the Porte. They even deposed their Prince Milosch in 1842, because he was too much in the Russian interest, and put his son Michael in his place. This revolution was effected with the approbation of Riza Pacha, then Vizier. Russia would gladly have interfered; but the other great powers of Europe had then the leisure and the will to attend to her schemes of aggrandizement, and she did not dare to do so. It should be added, that the Servians have established schools, printing-presses, hospitals, post-offices, and a penitentiary; and that the roads are as safe as in the most civilized countries. Belgrade boasts of newspapers and an academy. Indeed, no branch of the wide-spread Slavonic family has entered, with more enthusiasm than the Servians, into the idea of creating a new national literary unity, and, at the same time, treasuring up all fragments of old national ballads and traditions. Gaj has done much to popularize this idea among the Austrian Illyrians; and he has been ably seconded by the Slovak poet Kollar, by Palacki, the historian of Bohemia, and by Schafarick, the ethnographer and archæologist.

The accounts of the bearing of the Servians in the present crisis are somewhat contradictory. It is said that the Prince of Servia offers the Sultan 15,000 men to garrison Belgrade, and 30,000 to defend the frontier; but that the Sultan's insisting upon the landsturm's being called out has created disaffection.

Bosnia, with its dependencies, forms the north-west corner of

the Turkish Empire, and its principal rampart against Austria. It is a wild and mountainous country. The inhabitants, who always carry arms, and are proverbially ferocious, make incessant incursions upon the Austrian territories. Two-thirds of them have embraced Islamism; but they remain monogamists, keep up sundry traditional Christian usages, are jealous of the Turks, and continue to speak their native Sclavonic dialect. The power of the Pacha, who lives at Bosna-Serai, was very limited until of late, the Bosnians having been practically governed by thirty-six hereditary and native Chiefs. This feudal system has been crushed, but not extinguished, by Omer Pacha; but the cruelly-oppressed minority of the people who remained Christians have not been gainers by the change. Last year the depredations of the Bosnian Mussulmen upon Austrian subjects, and their outrages upon their own Christian countrymen, were so intolerable as to provoke the mission of Count Leiningen, and the extraordinary powers of protection and intervention which the Porte has been obliged to concede. Bosnia Proper contains 800,000 inhabitants, Herzegovina 301,000, Turkish Croatia about 400,000. The historical associations of those provinces are, in a great measure, Austrian. After many vicissitudes, they were ceded to Turkey in 1739. Even in 1789 and 1790 they were partially re-conquered, but given up again. The Bosnian is remarkable for his attachment to his native soil, which he can never be induced to leave; so that the retreat of the Turkish power would not here, at least, be followed by emigration, and the Moslem population, remaining isolated and dispirited, would offer a favourable field for Protestant missions.

Immediately to the south, between Bosnia and the Adriatic, in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of Montenegro, a small Sclavonic people have maintained their own independence, and kept open an asylum for insurgents against Turkey, from time immemorial. Each village chooses its own Chief; but the whole form a kind of republic, governed by a Vladika, or Prince-Bishop. The Montenegrins formerly used to look to Venice as their natural ally and protectress: their veneration was afterwards transferred to Russia. The Vladika used to be chosen among the Monks of the Convent of Cetigna; but this dignity has become hereditary in the family of Peter I., who had in his day braved Napoleon, and died at a great age in 1840. Peter II. established many useful reforms, and made himself comparatively independent of Russia, though the reigning Prince Daniel did not the less go to St. Petersburg to receive investiture from the Russian Holy Synod. They number a little more than 100,000 souls; their dialect is closely related to the Servian; and their late successful defence against an army of 40,000 regular soldiers shows they have not degenerated from the savage valour of their ancestors.

Albania is peopled by 1,600,000 Arnauts, as they are called by the Turks,—Schypetars, as they call themselves; descendants

of the old Illyrians, mixed with Greeks and various races. They are a fierce, energetic people, and, when they emigrate, industrious. Their levies are the best soldiers in the Turkish army. Remaining Christians until the death of their hero, Scanderbeg, in 1467, a considerable number of them embraced Mahometanism, and have acquired a sad reputation for pride, cruelty, and perfidy. The Christian Arnauts are generally of the Greek Church; but in Upper Albania the district between the Black Drino and the sea is Roman Catholic; and its inhabitants, in some respects superior to their neighbours, are ever ready to defend their religion and liberties. This district contains the little town of Croya, which was Scanderbeg's residence. The feudal anarchy, which long reigned in Albania, and of which the Rayahs especially were victims, was put a stop to by the destruction of the Begs in 1830, and sundry administrative reforms were introduced. Even the Islamite Albanian is uneasy under the Turkish yoke. There were disturbances in 1835, and the insurgents wanted to be united with the new kingdom of Greece; but diplomatists would not hear of it. At present the Albanians of the south continue to have a decided leaning towards Greece.

There are about three millions and a half of inhabitants in the remaining provinces of European Turkey,—Thessaly, Macedonia, and Romelia, including 600,000 for the city of Constantinople. We use the old names, because Turkish political descriptions are altogether conventional, and will eventually disappear. Of these, about a million and a half are Mussulmen; perhaps nearly as many, Greeks in descent and language, as well as in religion. There are whole districts occupied by stray Slavonians and Roumans, a great many Jews, Armenians, &c. On the whole, we may reckon, for Turkey in Europe, 11,000,000 of Greeks, 3,650,000 Mussulmen, 300,000 Roman Catholics, 250,000 Jews, 150,000 Gypsy Heathen, chiefly in the Principalities of the Danube, and 100,000 Armenians.

In an ethnological point of view, the Christian inhabitants of Turkey in Europe may be divided into three classes:—that in which the old Græco-Roman element predominates, south of the Balkan and the Argentaro; the mixed Roman and Dacian race north of the Danube; and, between those two, a Slavonic belt, extending from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, but divided, by peculiarities of language and national character, into the Illyrio-Servians on the west and the Bulgarians on the east. As to the Moslems, according to Berghaus, (*Länder und Völkerkunde*), only one-fifth, or 700,000, are genuine Osmanli Turks. There are 230,000 Tartars: the remainder consist of converts from among the subject races; for whole districts in despair sometimes went over to Islamism at once, and multitudes of individuals reduced to slavery made the decisive confession, "There is no God but God, and Mahomet is the Prophet of God," in order to have their chains taken off. The real Turk is a far nobler character

than his proselytes,—grave, hospitable, courageous, and, when not carried away by his prejudices, intelligent.

In a geographical point of view, Turkey in Europe may be divided into the basin of the Danube, the Adriatic, and the *Ægean*, with the Sea of Marmora. The first, extending from Turkish Croatia to Wallachia inclusively, contains nearly ten millions, of whom about one million are Mussulmen. Half the inhabitants have already obtained a partial independence; and the other half would soon follow, but for the fierceness of the Bosnian Mussulmen, and the apathy of the Bulgarian Christians. The basin of the Adriatic contains two millions, the strength of the Christians and Mahometans being equally balanced, and both parties disaffected; the basin of the *Ægean*, as already mentioned, three millions and a half, with a slight preponderance of Christians.

The statistics of Turkey in Asia may be given more summarily, but, alas! are far more uncertain. It is supposed there are about a million and a half of Osmanlis, chiefly in Anatolia and Caramania, where they are even found engaged in agricultural pursuits. Four millions of Mahometans of various subject races, including descendants of Greeks, and probably of indigenous populations, who have changed religion and language and costume, several times over, during the invasions, conquests, and devastations of twenty-six centuries. Two millions of Arabs. One million of savage Kurds. One hundred thousand more peaceable wandering Turcomans. Three hundred thousand members of different Heathenish and Mahometan sects, of which the Druses are the most remarkable and the most powerful. Three hundred thousand Jews. Two millions of Greeks, who retain their religion and language: they are chiefly scattered round the coasts. One million seven hundred thousand Armenians. Two hundred thousand Jacobites,—remains of the old Monophysite heretics in Mesopotamia and Syria. Two hundred thousand Nestorians, half of them concentrated in the Mountains of Kurdistan: they represent the opposite speculative extreme from the Jacobites, while living in the same districts and under the same oppression. Four hundred thousand Roman Catholics, chiefly the Maronites of Mount Lebanon. The Arabic is one of the most prevalent living languages in this Babel. The Kurds speak Persian. On adding up the numbers, we find 8,600,000 Mahometans, 4,500,000 Christians, and 600,000 Neutrals; so that the Christians form but a third of the population of this half of the Empire, and are even more divided amongst each other than in the European provinces.

It is more easy to discover the chief agencies that are at work, for good or evil, among these motley populations of nominal, but degenerate, Christians, than to ascertain the numerical strength of the various rival sects, or to compare it with that of their taskmasters. In the first place, there is the materially im-

verishing and morally degrading influence of Turkish despotism. We have not before us a people to be divided into governors and governed, but into oppressors and oppressed. If it be a common proverb in the East, that the grass does not grow where the Osmanli sets his foot, it is equally true that no virtues can flourish under such a sway. The Turk himself exhibits the manly frankness, the integrity, the dignified bearing, that are generally characteristic of dominant races; while the Rayah has become cringing and faithless, as is the wont of subject races. This is especially the case where the former are most numerous, have been settled longest, and have found the Christians already in a state of demoralization. The apathy of the Mahometans, and the native enterprise of the Greeks and Armenians, have thrown most of the commerce of the Empire into the hands of the latter, together with the Jews and some Albanians; but, except in particular instances, the Mahometans are better educated—taking the word “educated” in its vulgar, restricted sense—than the Christians; and far more Turks, in proportion to their numbers, can read and write.

Undoubtedly, the oldest, direst, and most inveterate obstacle to the social and moral progress of Eastern Christians is the material, unevangelical character of their Christianity. But for this, Islamism would never have existed; for, when the Arabs of the seventh century, wearied with idolatry, were in search of a religion, it is evident to the intelligent student of history, that they would have embraced Christianity, instead of inventing a monotheism of their own, if the abject superstitions of the Eastern Church had not disgusted them. It was this which made the degenerate successors of Constantine succumb before the Ottoman arms; and it is the same deep-lying, persistent principle of weakness, which hinders the emancipated Greek from taking that place among freemen, to which his capacities would entitle him, and to which the immortal remembrance of his forefathers should teach him to aspire. From the seventh to the fifteenth century, dismayed Emperors and Generals, Patriarchs and Bishops, recognised in the conquests of the crescent, and in the disasters of the Empire, the judgments of God upon a corrupt court and people; but they could not, or did not, recognise the close and direct causal connexion between their religious degeneracy and their reverses. The providential direction of human history does not exhibit itself in a series of judgments inflicted arbitrarily and miraculously, without any intrinsic connexion between them and the moral state which has called them down. On the contrary, with nations as with individuals, the moral cause which has made retributive inflictions necessary, becomes also, most frequently, their natural cause. When Christianity is transformed into mere arid speculations or mechanical practices, withdrawing from the heart to the head or to the finger-ends; when its worship

of the living and holy God, in the spirit of restored filial relationship to Him, is replaced by a mere instinctive dread, multiplying mediators until it has practically become a downright polytheism; when the real and effectual intercession of its only Priest is forgotten in the worthless mummeries of an ignorant, interested, and sensual priesthood; such a Christianity as this can never resist the immorality of all sorts, and the selfish materialism that spreads like a canker, in societies the refinements and luxuries of whose civilization are beyond their moral attainments. It has lost the conception of the dignity and responsibilities of the human calling: it cannot create the incorruptible statesman, the self-denying patriot, the devoted warrior: it can neither sustain the old worm-eaten fabric nor create a new one, but must pay the penalty of the separation between its traditions and the real moral life of man.

The whole of Christendom, from the third to the sixth century inclusive, exhibits the same progressive deterioration, and from the same causes. The slowness of the Church to appropriate, or her failing to retain, the mystery of grace,—God in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself,—threw her back upon Jewish and legal views: the consequent absence of spiritual life hindered the realization of the Christian principle of the priesthood, and favoured the establishment of a graduated and imposing hierarchy. The incorporation of whole nations, sometimes by violence, and sometimes by the mere attraction of a higher civilization, filled the Church with multitudes, to whose pagan ideas and practices she assimilated herself, for want of moral powers to raise them to her primitive level, until external Christianity became a baptized idolatry. Thus the enemies that had been conquered in the open field stole into the camp from behind, and established themselves there, disguised as friends. Nature-worship and hero-worship, sacrifice and lustration, mechanical justification, sacerdotal tyranny and imposture,—all revived in the corrupted form of a faith in sacramental graces and in the intercession of saints. From the beginning of the seventh century onwards, the hierarchy of the Western Church, allowed by political circumstances to follow its instinctive aspirations, began to recognise in the Bishop of Rome the head of a great religious monarchy, the keystone of the sacerdotal arch, the organ and the representative of their unity and their power. If the Eastern Church was not equally consistent in following out the great apostasy, we must not suppose that it was from any moral superiority. The presence of the Greek Emperors, and the powers they continued to exercise in the eastern half of the Empire, were the only causes which prevented the Patriarch of Constantinople from becoming a rival Pope; just as national pride, jealousy of the west, local traditions, and difference of language, were the chief causes which hindered the Greek Clergy from rallying round the banner of spiritual independence erected at Rome. But both Clergy and people were sunk below the

standard of New-Testament faith and practice, as deeply as the Latin Church itself, if not deeper still; and the religious society was altogether identified with the political. From the days of Gregory the Great to Martin Luther, more eminent men appeared in the Western Church than in the Eastern, more symptoms of religious interest and real appropriation of the life of Christ by individuals, and a higher development of Christian civilization.

The Church of Rome has consummated her apostasy, and sealed her doom, by rejecting the call for reformation, and by persecuting and slaying those that would have saved her; and the Greek Church seems, at first sight, comparatively guiltless in this respect. She has had no such day of visitation as her sister; there is no such cry of righteous blood arising from the ground against her; nor has she so formally, deliberately, and irrevocably rejected the truth. But there is another aspect of the matter: the Reformation took place within the pale of the Latin Church, just because there was most religious life there. It was the development of elements that already existed, struggling and protesting, within that Church; for there were Reformers before the Reform. So that the very fact that rendered the blindness and perversity of Rome possible,—the fact that the great religious conflict took place and still continues in the territory of the Western Church,—proves that the centre of the religious life of humanity was there. It was for the same reason, that the Prophet could not perish out of Jerusalem of old: the centre of the Theocracy had a fatal prerogative of crime, just because it *was* Jerusalem.

In some respects, as has been already stated, the Greek Church has not, so formally and officially as the Church of Rome, pronounced error, because she has not been driven to it by the antagonism of truth. In such cases the germ of the error is then in an undeveloped state, a practice rather than a theory; in other cases, circumstances force it into utterance. Then, the doctrine of transubstantiation was not formally acknowledged and defined in the Greek confessions of faith until 1672; yet it had prevailed in principle from the days of Chrysostom. There is no such express Pelagianism, as in the articles of the Council of Trent; yet the doctrines of man's ruined and lost condition, of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, and of justification by faith, are as little felt or understood, and as practically set aside, as they can be in the Vatican or at Maynooth. They have no statues or images of the Saints; but they carry picture-worship further than the most superstitious Roman Catholics: St. Nicholas in limestone would be a scandal; but St. Nicholas in oil is a hearer and an answerer of prayer. Pretended miracles are a matter of daily occurrence, says Hartley; and it is so easy to be canonized, that beggars ask for alms with the pious ejaculation: "May your father be sainted!" Marriage is only forbidden

to Monks and Prelates, not to the common parish Priests, which is an immense advantage over Romanism; so that auricular confession is not productive of so great enormities as in the latter system; but it is not the less a substitution of man's absolution for God's, a means of deceiving souls and of lowering the moral standard of the whole population; for sin against God and man can be conjured away by whispering it into the Priest's ear, and undergoing some little inconvenience called "penance." The Greek Church came into contact with the spirit of the Reformation early in the seventeenth century, in the person of the celebrated Patriarch, Cyril Lucas, and, in 1638, he fell a victim to his pious efforts. Only twenty-five years ago, it was the boast of the Greek Clergy that they had never interdicted the diffusion of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; but they do so now, because a few of their people have begun to read them. The liturgies are in the old Greek and the old Slavonic; and ideas of magical virtue are attached to the repetition of the mere sound, though not understood by the people. No high intellectual or moral qualifications are required for admission to the priesthood; but the slightest physical imperfection would be an insuperable difficulty, and the candidate for holy orders who has the misfortune to lose a *tooth* must give up his pretensions to the sacred office! Perjury is common; and people who swear falsely on the name of Christ without scruple, will not do so on the name of some more respected saint. There are two fast-days in the week, numerous special fasts, and four Lents, so that more than half the days of the year are fast-days; and this religion of arbitrary external performances is set so high above the external laws of right and wrong, that many a poor superstitious wretch will shed a fellow-creature's blood without remorse, but be horror-struck at the thought of violating a fast. Finally, the great feature of the Eastern as well as the Western apostasy, is the excessive adoration of the blessed Virgin. The yearnings of the heart after a human mediator all-powerful in heaven are turned away from Him who wept at the grave of Lazarus, and asked His disciples' sympathies in the Garden of Gethsemane. The little child's first prayer is this: "On thee I repose all my hope. Mother of God, save me!" The adult is taught to say, "Amidst all the sorrows of life, to whom can I flee for refuge but to thee, O holy Virgin?" And again: "May we love thee with all our heart and soul and mind and strength, and never swerve from thy commandments!" And, when the last scene is over, and the body is committed to the grave, the officiating Priest cries aloud, "By thee, O holy Virgin, we are raised from earth to heaven, having thrown off the corruption of death." We are speaking of the Greek religion here, chiefly with reference to its influence upon the temporal condition of those who profess it; but enough has been said to show that, even in this respect, nothing can be expected from it. There is no principle of national regeneration

hid within it ; there can be no amalgamation between it and the increasing intelligence of the nation. Knowledge can only make the Greek an infidel, and it is rapidly doing so already among the best-instructed classes. The absence of some of the evils with which we find fault in Romanism, instead of being a symptom of superiority, is merely the consequence of the Greek Church's representing a phase of Christian history, anterior to that represented by Rome. There have been three great periods in the history of the Church, which may be called, respectively, the imperial, the feudal, and the modern. The transitions between those periods were each of them marked by a great schism ; and the Greek Church has remained a fossilized specimen of the imperial phase, as is the Roman of the feudal.

The minor sections of the Eastern Church, to which belong more than two millions of the Christians of Turkey in Asia, separated from the main body at an early period, on the ground of differences in speculative Christology. The most important of them is the Armenian Church, which, together with the Copts and the Abyssinians, represents the old Monophysite heresy. Differing from the Greeks, as to the distinction of the human and divine natures of the Redeemer, the Armenians agree with them in defining the procession of the Holy Ghost to be from the Father only, in opposition to the Western formula, "from the Father and the Son." The last General Council in which the Bishops of this community took a part, was that of Ephesus, A.D. 431. They do not recognise the authority of that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 ; but the schism was not consummated for a century later, and their religious separation from the Greeks was facilitated by a political separation, their country having been wrested by the Persians from the Emperor of Constantinople. They now form only a third of the population in their native highlands,—a theatre of perpetual wars from the earliest period to the present hour ; but they are scattered, almost like Jews, throughout the neighbouring and even distant countries, and have obtained, like them, a large share of the commerce of the East. Their liturgy is in the old Armenian tongue. Their religious chief, called the *Catholikos*, enjoys the exclusive and very lucrative privilege of making and vending holy oil. His seat is at Echmiazin, which was under the sceptre of Persia until 1828, but now belongs to Russia. The Monks and Prelates may not marry ; the common Priests are allowed to do so, but, monogamists, after the fashion of the Vicar of Wakefield, must remain widowers, if their wives should die before them,—a restriction which also exists among the Greeks, and, indeed, among all the communities of the East, and is said to render their reverences the best and most careful husbands that can be imagined. The nine orders of the Armenian Clergy are intended to represent the same number of degrees which, it appears, exist in the heavenly hierarchy ; but this does not hinder them from being

immoral, drunken, avaricious, and excessively despotic. They are almost universally incapable of preaching, but perform ceremonies, and are unrivalled in the duties of cursing and excommunicating. The women are kept in oriental seclusion and ignorance. About two-thirds of the days in the year are fast-days for the Clergy, and about half for the laity. Their piety consists in the worship of images and relics, pilgrimages, &c., &c. They are very careful of the distinction between clean and unclean animals; and among their objections to Rome are included,—that she uses several wafers in the Communion, instead of fragments of “one bread,” and that the Latin Priests do not wear beards.

The Nestorians are the feeble remains of a once numerous and wide-spread community, which was persecuted by the Greeks, and tolerated for political reasons by the Persians, and which preached the Christian faith in India and in China. To maintain inviolate the distinction between the divine and human natures of the Redeemer, they practically establish a distinction of persons, depriving the Incarnation of its deep meaning and reality. The present centre of Nestorianism is among the descendants of the primitive Chaldean population in the mountains of Kurdistan. The Syrian Christians of Malabar are another small fragment. There are also scattered groups in Asiatic Turkey, Persia, and Tartary. Their liturgy is in old Syriac. Their chief Patriarch, always called Mar Elias, lives at Êlkosh, near Mosul; a sort of rival Patriarch, Mar Simon, is established at Urumiah, in Persia. The patriarchal and episcopal dignities are hereditary in certain families. The Nestorians do not admit any traditions to share the authority of the Scriptures as a rule of faith, hold but three sacraments,—baptism, the Eucharist, and ordination,—allow their Priests to marry, have neither pictures nor images, and use a cross only instead of a crucifix. On the whole, they are simple, in both the good and bad senses of the word, and possess a somewhat less degraded form of Christianity than their neighbours, upon whom they exercise little influence, for good or evil.

The Jacobites are Monophysites, but are distinguished from other Churches of that tendency, by carrying farther than any of them the identification of the human and the divine in the Redeemer's person. Moreover, they have always existed as scattered groups, united by the religious tie only; while the others were national churches which protested against the Council of Chalcedon. The liturgy in use is old Syriac. These religionists are more mystical, and in their penances more austere, than any other Christians of the East. Dispersed throughout Mesopotamia, Syria, and the regions south of Caucasus, they were organized by Jacob Baradaeus, who laboured among them from A.D. 541 to 578, and whom their legends confound with the Apostle James.

Those sects have, in common with each other, and with the

Greek Church, a hierarchy less monarchical than that of Rome, and a practical religious materialism, or faith in the magical efficacy of sacraments, more mystical, or less doctrinally developed, than in the West. They have, in common with one another, and with both Greeks and Latins, the use of liturgies in languages no longer understood by the people; and a general absence of conscious relation to the Saviour, that is to say, of vital spiritual religion. They would, perhaps, be even less hopeful than the present Greek community, were they not, from their position of utter political helplessness, more open to the labours of Protestant Missionaries.

Next to Turkish despotism, and to their own effete religion, the great danger and difficulty of the Christian populations of the East is to be found in the interested protection and the ambitious purposes of Russia. The strong attraction exercised upon the Russians by the richer and brighter south, is co-eval with the very origin of their national existence. Four times during the space of 190 years, from the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the eleventh, their fleets descended the Borysthenes to attempt to plunder the treasures of Constantinople. They conquered the Bulgarians by land, too, and marched to Adrianople in the year 970, as they were afterwards to do in 1829. Such was the impression left by these barbarians upon the imperial city, that when, after the last of those naval expeditions, the well-known prediction that the Russians should in the last days become masters of Constantinople, was found one morning inscribed upon an old equestrian statue of Bellerophon, it was believed to be the work of a supernatural agent, and spread terror among all ranks. Strange vicissitudes of history! The Russian armies bid fair to accomplish, as deliverers and co-religionists, the prophecy that concerned their ancestors as Pagans and adversaries. Step by step the modern Russian Colossus has been gaining on the receding crescent. The Ukraine was the first prize; then the Crimea in 1774; then Bessarabia, with the boundary of the Pruth, in 1812. The Treaty of Adrianople left her upon the Danube, mistress of its mouths, at the same time that Persia was obliged to cede an equally important military frontier south of Caucasus. The protectorate of Moldavia and Wallachia gives Russia a more real sovereignty over those provinces than has been left to the Porte; and the concessions so imperiously demanded in the late mission of Prince Menschikoff would have made the Czar virtual lord and master of the Christian population in European Turkey. There can be no doubt of the ultimate object pursued with such perseverance and vigilance through battle and intrigue. Catherine II. caused to be written upon a finger-post at Kherson, "ROAD TO CONSTANTINOPLE;" and, as a commentary upon this significant inscription, she had a medal struck, on which was represented a flash of light-

ning striking the mosque of St. Sophia. At Tilsit Alexander and Napoleon secretly discussed a project of dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire; and they were only hindered from agreeing, by the Czar's insisting upon having both shores of the Bosphorus. The Grand Duke Constantine was so named to express the hope that he might, during his life, achieve the great object of hereditary ambition. The expulsion of the Turks is felt to be the national calling, as much as that of the Moors was the calling of Castile and Arragon. Assuredly, had Russia real liberty to offer to those so long oppressed and down-trodden races, with most of whom she is allied by blood, and with all by religion, no abstract considerations about the balance of power in Europe should hinder the friends of humanity from wishing well to her purposes; but we know the grasp of the autocrat would only consign those fair provinces to a new form of servitude. If he had them in his power, it were over with liberty in every shape, commercial, political, religious; and that for long generations; it were but a change from a bad master with a weak arm, to a somewhat better master with an iron arm. So that the very affinities which would justify Russian intervention, if it were for good, make it all the more dangerous and deplorable now that it is for evil. Let us suppose the provinces of European Turkey transferred to Austrian rule, they would only add to the motley character of its populations, differing as they do already in origin, in language, and in religion. They would rather precipitate its dismemberment, than augment its power. Transfer them to Russia, on the contrary, and there would seem reason to fear their becoming so assimilated to its huge Græco-Sclavonic mass, as vastly to increase its power, and to seal their own long separation from Western Europe. Let us, again, suppose the purposes of Russia thwarted by the firmness of France and England, and those provinces erected into one or more independent states, under the common protection of the great powers, still no official independence, no parchments and red tape, could prevent subserviency to Russian policy, and imitation of Russian intolerance, if the sympathies of the new people were really Muscovite. Happily, there are antagonist principles at work, the nature of which we shall try to describe, and their strength, as far as it can be ascertained.

After the destruction of the Greek Empire, the Sultans confirmed the Patriarch of Constantinople in many of his privileges and immunities, giving him rank with a Pacha of three tails, and allowing the office to be filled by the election of the Holy Synod. This conclave of the Oriental Church consists, it should be said, of the Archbishops of Romelia: its members must never be more than twelve, nor less than six. Turkish liberality, however, did not scruple removing the Patriarch and other dignitaries at pleasure, and using him and them as its own officers, by whom to maintain a sort of control over the religious organism

of the Rayahs. Such a state of things necessarily weakened the connexion between the parent, but enslaved, Church of Greece, and her independent daughter in the Sarmatian forests; and, in 1589, the Czar Feodor Ivanovitch obtained from the Patriarch of Constantinople the recognition of the separate jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow, thus securing the independence of the Russian Church, without the perils and inconveniences of schism. In 1702, Peter the Great took the more decisive step of proclaiming himself head of the national Church. The union of supreme religious and civil authority in one person was not only, as the most simple and natural sort of Theocracy, suited to the imperfect culture of the Russian people; it was also, in a great measure, prepared by the traditions of the Greek Church itself; for Patriarchs had been learning the lesson of subordination, while Popes had been practising that of supremacy. However, that same tendency to confound the religious and national characters, which made the Czar's usurpation possible within his own territories, has rendered it of less importance with respect to other populations of the same confession. The Greek has not that urgent anxiety for the union of all his co-religionists under one Chief, which set the Pope at the head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The three millions of Austrian Greeks look up to the Patriarch of Carlowitz as their only religious head on earth. The great majority of the Russians acknowledge the Czar in the same character. We say "majority;" for five millions of *Starowers*, or "old believers," dissent stoutly from the doctrine of imperial supremacy, and call Peter the Great, "Antichrist." The Archbishopric of Athens has lately been raised to supreme independent jurisdiction over emancipated Greece, with a Holy Synod of its own; and the thirteen millions of the Greek Church still under Turkish rule, bow to the spiritual sceptre of the "œcumenical Patriarch," without accusing their brethren of schism, but also without feeling as impressed or attracted as might have been expected by the pretensions of an imperial Patriarch. It is only in Russia itself, and among the lower orders, that the person of the Czar is viewed with such religious veneration as the champion of the cause of God and of the orthodox Church. Hence he has been driven to struggle for religious influence among the Greeks of Turkey, not so much in his theocratic character, as by intrigues of detail, from matters of the internal administration of some petty convent, to the nomination of the Patriarch, or the use of his patronage. Those intrigues provoked the Hatti-sherif of 1836, which reserved to the Sultan the right of confirming or revoking all nominations to episcopal sees, made by the Patriarch or the Holy Synod. At the same time, to make amends for this stretch of authority, it was promised that no acting Bishop should be deposed by the Turkish Ministers arbitrarily, or without prior advice of the Holy Synod. The practical purpose of Prince

Menschikoff's famous mission would seem to be the transferring from the Sultan to the Czar the authority the latter had begun to exercise over the ecclesiastical organization of his Christian subjects. At least, this is the interpretation which we are inclined to put upon that innocent diplomatic phrase, "the guaranteeing the immunities of the Greek Church." It is true Count Nesselrode manages to give his master's demands a most unpretending air; he would almost have us believe the key of the church of Bethlehem to be the only palpable matter in dispute; no prerogatives, he affirms, have been asked but such as Russia already possessed by treaty or prescription. Then why ask for prerogatives possessed already? why put all Europe in commotion for a new paper security of what had been already promised or practised? The note required in Prince Menschikoff's *ultimatum* either contains something new, or it is superfluous. But it is idle to pretend that demands so peremptorily put forth, and sustained by such an imposing force, were intended to convey nothing new to the minds of the Russian people, and of the Christian populations of Turkey, or to offer no new basis for future diplomatic operations. It is said that the more intelligent of the Turco-Greek Clergy and laity see through the selfish purpose of this insidious protection, and have protested against it.

The acquisition of the trans-Caucasian provinces in 1828, making Russia mistress of Echmiazin, the seat of the Armenian *Catholikos*, afforded the ever-watchful court of St. Petersburg a hopeful opportunity of religio-political speculation. In the first place, the Armenians who inhabited territories yet remaining under the Persian Government were encouraged to emigrate by thousands, and put themselves under the protection of Russia. In the next place, the Czar ordered that the *Catholikos* should no longer be chosen by the Priests and Notables of the immediate district only, but that all Armenian Priests and Notables, in whatever country they resided, should be allowed to take a share in the election. As there are, at most, but four hundred thousand Armenians in the Russian territories, and there are eighteen hundred thousand in the Ottoman Empire, this was a delicate way of paying court to the largest Turco-Christian sect after the Greeks, and of bringing them into connexion with the Russian Government. Several candidates are named for this dignity, among whom the Emperor condescends to make a final choice. The *Catholikos* has a right to send a deputation to the coronation of the Czar, and to be himself attended by an Armenian guard of honour whenever it may be his pleasure to visit St. Petersburg. To meet this new engine of Muscovite policy, the Porte has proclaimed the Armenian Metropolitan of Constantinople independent of the *Catholikos*, allows him to be elected by the Clergy of the capital, and tries, it is said with success, to detach the adherents of this sect from their old centre at Echmiazin.

After religion, it is by the affinities of blood and language that Russia might be expected to exercise an immense influence upon the Christian inhabitants of Turkey; but then, the populations nearest her, and already suffering from her protection, are not Slavonic, but Rouman, and to an old jealousy of races they join a profound antipathy to her policy and institutions. Moreover, even the Slavonians are any thing but enthusiastic in the cause of Russia. The tale of the woes and wrongs of Poland has been borne to their wilds, and has taught them, that the being of a kindred race is not enough to make men happy under a relentless despotism. The idea of one mighty Empire, composed of all the Slavonic tribes, and playing such a part in the world's history as Rome did once, or the Germanic races have done since,—such an idea has seduced the imagination of a few men of letters, called Panslavists; but, out of Russia, they are almost all to be found among the Austrian, not the Turkish, Slavonians; and of the latter, the Servians—whose revived national feeling and cultivation of national literature might dispose them to Panslavism—are just of that hardy self-governing stamp which is essentially opposed to Czarism. We may even add that while the policy of Russia, as to weakening and humbling the Porte, has been unvarying, her policy towards the subjects of the Porte has been vacillating, according as the desire to win their sympathies, or the fear of setting the bad example of successful revolt, has predominated. Russia gloats over every acquisition made by the sword; but a province won by the co-operation of its own inhabitants she cannot view with the same unmixed satisfaction. There is a dangerous principle involved in the latter case; for slaves who have contributed to their change of masters may, some time or other, be tempted to think that they have a right to their own persons. When, in 1821, Alexander Hypsilanti summoned oppressed and widowed Greece to shake the ashes from her brow and the fetters from her limbs, it was natural that Austria should tremble for her own provinces, since she keeps them in precarious subjection, by playing them off one against the other; but Russia had not the excuse of the same necessity of self-preservation, and yet she allowed her despotic instincts to stifle the voice of generosity, and natural sympathy, and sound policy, and broke with her own previous conduct. Poor Hypsilanti set up his standard in the Principalities of the Danube, confiding in the countenance and support of the Emperor Alexander; but, disowned by the Czar and deserted by most of his followers, his little army was cut to pieces. He fled to the Austrian territory: they did not give him up to the Turks to be impaled, as they had done the patriot poet Rhigas, but they threw him into prison, where he died of grief. Two years afterwards, Alexander acquiesced in the shameful determination of the Congress of Verona not to receive the Greek Envoy. He was at that time altogether under the illiberal influence of Met-

ternich. It was not until the fierce resolution of the Greeks made it evident that there was no mean term between their extermination and their emancipation, that Russia at last, in concert with England and France, interfered on their behalf; and then, as if to show she was incapable of tendering aid without some selfish purpose, she profited by the humiliation of the Porte to make war on her own account.

The last, which we shall mention, of the disastrous influences at work in the East, is the proselytism of the Church of Rome, worthy rival of that of Russia, and unchecked by scruples of any sort. The schism of the Eastern and Western Churches was practically effected that Christmas-day, A.D. 800, when Pope Leo III. set the crown on the head of Charlemagne. There was then no theological controversy between the two great sections of Christendom; and the Council of Constantinople, in 869, is recognised by the Roman Church. However, the quarrels of ambitious Popes and Patriarchs aggravated the growing national aversion, and theological reasons were invented to sanction it. The consummation of the schism may be dated from the 16th of July, A.D. 1054, when the Pope's Legates deposited upon the altar of the Church of St. Sophia a formal excommunication, filled with the most direful anathemas against the Patriarch and all his followers and abettors in heresy. During the four centuries that followed, there were many struggles between the rival hierarchies for the possession of the countries that seemed undecided between them. Bulgaria, for instance, in an hour of discontent, sent an embassy to lay itself at the feet of Pope Innocent III.; and the famous Calo-John received from the Vatican a royal title, a Latin Archbishop, a holy banner, and the licence of coining money: but the insolence of the Latin conquerors of Constantinople, in 1204, soon dissolved an alliance which had no root in the dispositions of the Bulgarian people. There were also frequent negotiations between the Emperors of the East and the Roman Pontiffs, partial attempts at reconciliation, more or less hollow truces. More than one of the Palæologi made secret, or even public, acts of submission, in hope of obtaining success against foreign or domestic enemies, and for a time barbarously persecuted those of their subjects, who were more bigoted or less scrupulous than themselves. The last, and apparently the least insincere, of those attempts, was the so-called union of the Greek and Latin Churches, concluded at Florence, A.D. 1438. The Emperor John Palæologus II., with the Patriarch and a chosen train of Bishops and Dignitaries, attended the Council held by Eugenius IV., and, after nine months of labour and discussion, settled upon a form of consent which could be subscribed by both parties, and in which, with some modifications of form, to save the dignity and spare the self-love of the Greeks, the disputed question of the procession of the Holy Ghost was so

determined as to express substantially the doctrine of the Latin Church. The act of union was solemnly read in the Greek and Latin tongues, and accompanied with the celebration of high mass in the cathedral of Florence; the Creed was chanted; a Romish Cardinal and the Archbishop of Nice, representatives of their respective communions, embraced each other in the name and in the presence of their brethren. But all this fair show was only wrung from the Greek Ecclesiastics by the violence of their prince. They had no sooner landed on the Byzantine shore, than they hastened to deprecate the murmurs of the people by bewailing their apostasy; and John Palæologus was almost alone in remaining faithful to the union, during the few years that he prolonged his reign and his hopes of safety from the Latin arms. Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiow, the representative of Russia at the Council of Florence, seems to have seriously attempted to realize the union in his own country; but he was condemned by a national Council, and shut up in a monastery, after escaping with difficulty from the hands of a fierce and fanatic people.

The Reformation changed the attitude of the Latin Church. It was now the turn of the Pope to flatter the Eastern Christians, and thus try to find compensation for the losses sustained in Central and Northern Europe. The Church of Rome became all grace and pliancy, and seems for the first time to have entertained the idea of winning back the schismatics individually, in cases where the masses remained immovable. She also allowed such Greeks as chose to attach themselves by masses to her communion, to retain the marriage of their Priests, the communion in both kinds, and the use of the Liturgy in Greek. The helplessness of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, as far as political power was concerned, was of immense advantage to a rival who could, in many cases, promise protection, immunities, and civil privileges to his adherents, and who used every art to increase their number. Thus whole populations, especially on the frontier, and those shut in among districts already belonging to the Latin rite, began to look away from St. Sophia to the Vatican. The comparatively missionary spirit of the Church of Rome, moreover, and her advocacy of religious or ecclesiastical principles for their own sake, distinct from national or political interests, contrasted favourably with the absence of all missionary feeling and effort on the part of her rival. Among the Greek Churches, as among Protestant Churches until lately, the religious character is, so to speak, overlaid by the national, a yearly excommunication of all heretics being the only notice the Patriarch of Constantinople takes of such persons as have the misfortune not to belong to the only safe and orthodox Church. From those various causes, the number of "united Greeks" became so great as to suggest the possibility of the independent or schismatic Greek Church, as Romanists call it, becoming one day absorbed. The development of the power and the national spirit

of Russia has put a stop to this movement. Many of the united Greeks of Little Russia, whose submission to Rome dated from A.D. 1596, returned to the bosom of the national Church in the reign of Catherine II.; and not less than two millions of Rusniacs and Lithuanians, comprising almost the whole body of united Greeks that remained within the Russian territory, sought reconciliation with their "orthodox" master at the Synod of Polozk, in February, 1839. Austria is now the chief home of the united Greeks, who amount to about three millions and a half, especially Rusniacs and Transylvanians. There are about 80,000 in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and they are scattered in small numbers over the Levant. But they make no further progress; and though the Pope lately wrote a letter with his own paternal hand to thank the Emperor of Austria for interfering in behalf of the Christians in Turkey, it is likely he woos in vain.

The Romish conquest next in importance is that of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, a population of between two and three hundred thousand souls. They are remains of the Monothelite heretics, once powerful in Syria, and condemned at a Council of Constantinople, A.D. 680. They were brought into intercourse with the West by the Crusades; and the union was consummated in 1445. The Clergy choose the Patriarch, who receives investiture from the pontifical Legate residing at the convent of Astoura; and since 1584 there has been a Maronite college at Rome. These people retain the use of the old Syriac liturgy, and the communion in both kinds: their Priests are allowed to marry once, and then a virgin. They are the best-educated Christians of the Levant, often serving as secretaries to the Turks and Druses. They are proverbially cunning and knavish, are very zealous adherents of the Papacy, and enjoy the peculiar protection of France.

There are also other small bodies of Eastern Christians, retaining their own forms, and yet reconciled with Rome. The united Armenians in the city of Constantinople are twenty thousand strong; and there are about three times as many more, scattered through Turkey, Russia, and Austria. There are Armenian purses to help forward the work of proselytism at Constantinople and Vienna, and in the convent established in the Island of St. Lazarus at Venice. There are also a few thousand of united Jacobites and Nestorians. But we are much mistaken, or Rome sets little value on this semi-conformity, except as a transition to complete conformity. Her energies seem, at the present time, essentially directed to the latter object. The Roman Catholics, properly so called, are, as we have seen, most numerous in Albania. Those of Greece were only 22,300 souls in 1841; yet they were favoured with an Archbishop, 3 Bishops, 7 convents, 43 churches, 83 chapels, and 2 seminaries; a formidable ecclesiastical staff indeed, for so small a community.

The busiest emissaries of the Papacy in the Levant are the Congregation called *Lazarists*. They have establishments at Alexandria, Beyruth, Astoura, Damascus, Santorin, Naxia, Smyrna; but the most important station is Constantinople. They have in the capital a college with eighty students, a large girls' school containing generally 160 boarders and 60 orphans educated gratuitously, primary schools for 1,300 children, an asylum for foundling infants, a hospital, an institute of charity which distributes money and food among the poor, and a printing-press especially devoted to books for children. The persons engaged in these different missionary occupations at *this one station* were, in 1850, fourteen Lazarists, seventeen Brothers of the Christian Schools, and forty-four Sisters of Charity. Assuredly Rome is not idle.

Let us now turn to the brighter side of the subject, though, alas! the elements of present or future good, existing among the Christian populations of Turkey, seem scant and feeble in comparison with the evil. In the first place, there is the revival of national feeling and generous aspirations. We believe in a secret affinity between every legitimate and noble enthusiasm, and that faith which is the highest life of man, at least so far as this,—that a people capable of the lofty heroism shown by the modern Greeks is not so far from the kingdom of heaven as one engrossed in the pursuits of mere well-being, without anything else to raise it above a sensual and selfish mediocrity. Patriotism in this degree is a lower sort of religion,—religion run wild, mistaking its object, and transformed into the worship of one's country. Doubtless, it is more capable of wresting a country from its oppressors, than of founding permanent institutions and a progressing civilization; and the troubled, unprosperous state of Greece is proof enough that an important element of national life is wanting. Yet, with such feelings as these, a people is capable of beginning its career anew. Greece has not yet embraced the real principle of individual, social, and national regeneration; but it is no longer the worn-out Greece of the Palæologi, and it is the type of the national feelings resuscitated all through Turkey in Europe.

In the next place, the ever-increasing intercourse of nations is calculated to spread among those awakening races the knowledge of what is being done elsewhere, the first axioms of political and religious liberty, and some ideas of the form Christianity assumes in Protestant countries. Perhaps there is not at present in operation any agency more prejudicial to despotism, all over Europe, than the simple bringing of people together, and the allowing them to compare notes, by modern facilities of transport. Our own commercial intercourse with Turkey is considerable and increasing; but, unfortunately, the people who have most to communicate to others, are just the people who have the least

power of transmitting their acquisitions. The Englishman is reserved and taciturn; there is something peculiar and insular in his way of doing and conceiving things; he cannot sufficiently put himself in the place of foreigners to win their sympathies, and, even when he has excited admiration, he does not readily elicit imitation. Those very characteristics of our civilization, which have given it a mighty power of resistance to foreign influences, render it less capable of aggression. In this respect the French enjoy an immense advantage over us. Such is the power of insinuation and attraction possessed by that eminently sociable people, that it would seem as if ideas must pass into France, and be elaborated there, in order to their being communicated to the rest of Europe. The idea is popularized there, humanized, so to speak, stripped of its peculiar national envelope, and made fit for universal currency. This is one of the reasons why President Jefferson used to say that every educated man in the world had two countries,—his own and France; and Bunsen gives his opinion, in the preface to the German edition of his *Hippolytus*, that, but for the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, France would have occupied the first rank among modern nations. In the Levant, as well as everywhere else, French ideas are more easily assimilated than English ones; that is to say, the human side of modern civilization, without the divine salt that can alone hinder its corrupting. Our literature is absolutely unknown, while that of France circulates freely. Thus, in the Principalities of the Danube, the Boyard and the Rouman of independent fortune read Voltaire, and criticize the last immoral *feuilleton*, as commonly as they drink champagne; and the great object of their ambition is, to spend a winter with their family in Paris, which they do by hundreds. However, notwithstanding our lack of sociableness, and of the talent of making ourselves popular, English influence is doing something; our power and national character are respected; every season adds a new link to a chain of commercial and material interests, connecting us with those populations; and the British steamers of the Levant and the Black Sea scatter abroad in the air other elements than the smoke of their chimneys.

A last item, and one which ought to be the most important, is the direct agency of evangelical Missions. There was a moment of great hope for liberated Greece, when the late Mr. Hartley wrote his "Missionary Researches." Protestant teachers were received with confidence, and Bibles circulated by thousands. That hope was disappointed; and the Mission became a wreck, so soon as the Greek Priests found out what Protestants and what the Bible really meant. Unfortunately, the people heartily concur in the opposition of the Priests. That confusion of the religious and the national characters, to which we have already alluded as a feature of all the Eastern Churches, leads the high-spirited Greek to resent every attempt at foreign proselytism, as

an outrage upon his nationality; so that the Constitution of 1843, which gave the people more control over the Government, was the signal for increased hostility and violence towards Protestant Missionaries. The American Missionaries have persevered for years, though their persons were ill-treated. Twice the veteran Dr. King had to withdraw from Athens; but he is now at his post again, and cheered by prospects of success. The Greeks still under Turkish rule are more accessible; but little has been done amongst them.

The minor Christian sects present a more encouraging prospect. The labours of the Americans among the Nestorians have already been productive of much good, and promise more. Their chief centre of activity is among the Nestorians of the plain at Ourmiah, within the Persian frontier. The great religious movement among the Armenians, however,—the formation and rapid spread of an evangelical Armenian Church,—is the most cheering symptom in the moral state of the East.

The first Protestant Armenian community was organized at Constantinople in 1846. They underwent the most atrocious persecutions from the priesthood of the Church they had abandoned, until the instances of the British Ambassadors procured them the protection of the Turkish Government, and withdrew them from under the sort of political authority which the Turks allow the Armenian Priests to exercise over their co-religionists. Converts to Protestantism are now treated with marked favour and respect by the Turks; and the Firman signed by Reschid Pacha on the 15th of November, 1847, not only guarantees complete toleration and security to the Protestant Armenians, but to all Rayahs whatever, who become Protestants. There were at that time but a thousand converts who had formally declared themselves; but the influence of even that little number, who had braved all manner of obloquy and suffering, was very great indeed. The American Missions in Syria and among the Jacobites of Mesopotamia are also promising. By the last Report of the American Board of Foreign Missions, it appears that there are 46 Missionaries labouring among the degenerate Christian Churches in Asiatic and European Turkey; and, reckoning the female aids and native Missionaries, there are in all 177 persons employed by the Board. Funds for 12 more were voted last spring, and will be applied as soon as men willing and capable for the work are forthcoming. Seven regularly constituted Churches had been formed at Constantinople, Erzeroum, Trebisonde, Nicomedia, Broussa, Aintab, and Adalazar. There were little groups of pious Armenians in all the principal towns of Asia Minor; and wherever the Missionary penetrated, he found friends waiting to receive him, and already furnished with tracts and Bibles. As has been previously stated, the Armenians are scattered, like the Jews, over the East, and therefore eminently fitted to be a people of Missionaries. No

population of the same numerical strength, if animated by the spirit of the Gospel, could be more useful in its propagation; and the unexpected breath from heaven that has blown upon those dry bones, seems an earnest of divine assistance on a greater scale than a few years ago we should have dared to hope. There are fewest Armenians among the Christian populations north of the Bosphorus, whom we should be most anxious to evangelize, and who will apparently be earliest emancipated; but whenever that day comes, in which Turkish power shall be so far humbled, or Mahometan fanaticism so far spent, as to allow the Moslem to change his religion without martyrdom, the position occupied by the Armenians may then prove of immense importance. Even as matters stand, were a dismemberment of Turkey to take place at present, there are Protestants enow in the Empire to justify the Protestant powers in insisting upon complete religious liberty, in the new order of things, just as the existence of a few Roman Catholics in Greece was motive sufficient to have religious liberty and equality stipulated for them, in the Protocol of London, February 24th, 1830.

It is deeply interesting to see the sons of England returning from a new world to carry the life that now is, and that which is to come, back to the very cradle of humanity,—to those sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris, from whence issued the earliest pilgrim-fathers, ancestors of all races of men. But the work is not supported by England at all, nor by America adequately. Moreover, nothing has been done for the basin of the Danube, with its nine millions of nominal Christians. Who amongst us so much as thinks of Bulgaria? Yet, from the eighth to the sixteenth century, that country, and the valleys of the Hæmus especially, was the asylum of the Paulicians,—a sect which in some respects anticipated the Reformation, and had to do with the origin of the French Albigenses, so cruelly exterminated in the thirteenth century. The degree of Christian truth held by the Paulicians was spoiled by their half-savage manners, and by the Manichean doctrines, which, perhaps, more than any external persecution, contributed to their decay and extinction in the East. Still, that name “Bulgarian,” which, from the Balkan to the Pyrenees, was used to stigmatize the rebel against dominant sacerdotal systems, ought to arouse the sympathies of every evangelical Protestant. There seems, indeed, to prevail among us and our transatlantic brethren a strange ignorance or apathy, wherever the Slavonic race is concerned. Let it just be remembered, that Europe is ethnologically divided into three great groups of peoples, nearly equal in number. There are 88 millions of Celto-Romans, among whom Catholicism predominates; 82 millions of Germanic race, or civilization, among whom Protestantism predominates; 79 millions of Slavonians, among whom the Greek religion predominates. Now, will it not seem strange to a future age, that the world has reached the year 1853 without

British or American Christians doing anything whatever to enlighten this third of the population of Europe, distinguished by a marked national religiousness, and destined to act a far more important part in the world's future history than it has hitherto done? Truly, the 53 millions of Russian Slavonians, and the 17 millions of Austrian, are out of our reach; but there are two millions between Prussian Poland, part of Silesia, Prussian and Saxon Lusatia; and there are nearly seven millions under Turkish rule. Moreover, there exist at the present time facilities for evangelizing the latter, which may soon cease; for the Turk respects Protestantism, and will protect the Protestant Missionary; while, if those provinces should fall to the lot of Russia, there may be an end, for a long season, to all thoughts of gaining a footing within them for evangelical religion; and even independence, in their present state of development, would present very unfavourable conditions, as the example of Greece shows. It is a mistake to suppose there are no Slavonic Protestants; we may count some thousands in Carinthia, 130,000 Lusatians, about 140,000 Bohemians, or Moravians, 440,000 Poles, and 800,000 Austrian Slovacks,—in all, a million and a half,—sunk, indeed, in rationalism and indifference; yet men might, perhaps, be found among them, able and willing to preach the Gospel to their fellows in Turkey. Difference of language, at least, would not be the great obstacle; for, such is the affinity between the Slavonic dialects, that, according to Count Krasinski, the fishermen of Archangel can understand those of the Adriatic. But, so far from searching out men qualified to carry the good tidings to these neglected multitudes, we have not even given help or countenance to those who have presented themselves unsought. We have left Czerski and his fellow-labourers in Prussian Poland to struggle with all sorts of privations; while their humble congregations are impoverished by the exactions of the Prussian authorities, because they persist in maintaining a position of ecclesiastical independence. The kingdoms of the world belong to our Lord and His Christ, and the great empire of all the Russias among the number: then, when and whence shall it learn allegiance? Liberal Slavonians sometimes rest their hopes of the future emancipation of Russia upon the reaction to be effected by foreign and minor kindred tribes, when free institutions shall have been developed among them. Such a hope is suggestive. Shall the South once more accomplish the spiritual conquest of the North? Shall Russia learn Christianity more perfectly, from those same regions from which she received it centuries ago? The answer to the question depends, apparently, upon the supineness or the activity of British Christians, during that period, of very uncertain length, in which the integrity of the Ottoman Empire leaves free access to its Slavonian subjects.

It is remarkable, that the interests of the remains of some of the oldest races in the civilized world should be so intimately

connected with the prospects of the Slavonians, whose time is yet to come, and who have only been known in history as barbarians until lately. Thus the past and the future are wedded. Many of the noblest remembrances of mankind, and some of its hopes, meet in those regions which served of old as the bridge between Asia and Europe, the highway of the earliest civilization, as well as of the conqueror and devastator, early and late. From the siege of Troy to the massacres of Scio, those regions have witnessed more cruelties and horrors than any other part of the world,—wars of extermination, stifling and oppressive peace, in which race after race has disappeared, and its place knoweth it no more. When shall the nations meet for mutual good, and not for conflict? When shall the happiest countries of the earth be those in which the most various tribes are brought into contact with each other? When shall Asia Minor help to carry back to the East a higher civilization than that which travelled to Europe over its highlands, and along its coasts, three thousand years ago? When shall Christendom meet the Moslem with better weapons than the sword of the Crusader, or the bayonet of the Russian Grenadier? Civilization has hitherto been slowly changing its seat, travelling north-westward like the sun of a long summer's day; but, if the entire earth is to be covered with the knowledge of the Lord, the sacred fire must be kindled again upon yon ruined altar, upon yon blackened and deserted hearth. There was a time when the Hebrew Prophet stood on the Mount of Judah, looking intently to the distant West; and as he listened, he heard the noise of hymns from afar, voices from the Pagan Europe, glorifying the name of Jehovah in the isles of the Ægean, and from the uttermost part of the continent beyond. (Isaiah xxiv. 14–16). It is now ours to take up our stand in turn, look to the East, and listen.

The journalist and the reviewer like to wind up considerations like the present with some confident assurances of the turn affairs are soon to take,—some proof that their penetrating glance can reach behind the scenes; but we cannot pretend to any such perspicacity. By the time these pages shall have met the reader's eye, he will know far more of the immediate prospects of the Ottoman Empire than we can foresee while we write. The duties of the present crisis can be determined more clearly than its issues. We do assuredly anticipate the decline of the Mahometan power, and the final extinction of the Mahometan faith; but the times and the manner are the secret of Providence: the withered oak-leaf may be blown away by a sudden gust, or remain upon the tree until returning spring has provided its successor. Hitherto, every superannuated civilization has had a violent end, as sundry savages put their aged relatives to death: it remains to be seen whether our world has learned humanity enough to let the decrepit Turk die in his bed. That depends, in a great measure, upon himself. If he can but bring

himself to make a friend and an equal of the Rayah, and to admit of the exercise of Christian proselytism upon Mahometans, he will, indeed, have virtually renounced his faith, and the principle that has made him what he is; but he will also have changed his decay into a transformation. Meantime, let us hail with pleasure everything that brings the populations of the East into contact with British intelligence, or even with British capital; and let us trust to the wisdom and vigilance of our Government for opposing everything that from without would accelerate the fall of the Ottoman Empire, and for facilitating every thing that from within would promote a saving revolution, especially the emancipation of the Christians, and their progress in intelligent self-government. May our strife with Russia remain a moral one, and God defend the right!

- ART. II.—1. *The Life of Wesley; and Rise and Progress of Methodism.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., LL.D. Third Edition, with Notes by the late SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, Esq., and Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley, by the late ALEXANDER KNOX, Esq. Edited by the REV. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY, M.A., Curate of Cockermonth. Two Vols. 8vo. London: Longman and Co. 1846.
2. *Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Founder of the Methodist Societies.* To which is added, *Observations on Southey's Life of Wesley.* By RICHARD WATSON. London: Mason.
3. *The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.* In which are included, *The Life of his Brother, the Rev. Charles Wesley, A.M., Student of Christ-Church, Oxford, and Memoirs of their Family; comprehending an Account of the great Revival of Religion in which they were the first and chief Instruments.* By the REV. HENRY MOORE, only surviving Trustee of Mr. Wesley's MSS. London, 1824.
4. *Wesley, and Methodism.* By ISAAC TAYLOR. London: Longman and Co. 1851.
5. *An Apology for Wesley, and Methodism, in Reply to the Misrepresentations of Isaac Taylor and the North British Review.* By the REV. R. M. MACBRAIR, M.A. Second Edition. Edinburgh, 1852.
6. *Wesley the Worthy, and Wesley the Catholic.* By REV. O. T. DOBBIN, LL.D., Trinity College, Dublin. With Introduction by REV. W. ARTHUR, M.A. London: Ward and Co.

At the opening of the eighteenth century, the religious state of England was lower perhaps than ever previously or since. Many periods of church-history have been ruder, but none more

barren and unlovely. Of the general manners of an earlier epoch,—namely, the Restoration,—Mr. Macaulay has drawn a faithful and unfavourable picture. With features of the picturesque that make it a suitable era for the choice of a novelist, it bears strong marks of moral and social degradation. But the period of the Restoration had some religious advantages denied to the two next succeeding generations. The profligate reaction of the restored King's reign affected chiefly the Court and the Cavaliers, who gladly escaped from the compulsory austerities of the Commonwealth; while the body of the people were still sincerely, if also somewhat gloomily, disposed to piety. Moreover, the age of great Preachers was not wholly gone by; for such the despised Puritans emphatically were,—faithful, earnest, and devout, even more than eloquent or learned; “mighty in Scripture,” and furnishing themselves diligently out of that inexhaustible armoury and treasury. The effects of this able and zealous ministry—exercised for the most part on the lower and middle classes of society—were still largely felt among the people. The polished but unpointed sermons of the episcopal Clergy could not so rivet the attention or transfix the heart; assent to the evangelical doctrines of the Prayer-Book was a matter of course, rather than of positive conviction and belief; and the sermon, which should have urged them upon the mind and conscience, was commonly more cold and formal than the reading of the Liturgy itself, but neither so scriptural nor so personal in its character. The Puritan and Nonconformist, on the other hand, preached from a full heart as well as from a furnished head, and reasoned, like Paul, “of righteousness, and temperance, and judgment to come.” But, when the eighteenth century had commenced, a general lull of religious feeling appears to have come upon all the Churches in the land, Dissenting as well as national. If another Echard had chosen to write, at this time, “of the Grounds of the Contempt of the Clergy,” they must have been pronounced moral rather than physical, furnishing less matter for the humorous satirist, but prompting a severer note of warning and rebuke. A few eminent examples of the opposite condition occur to us as exceptions to this very general rule,—burning and shining lights, made more conspicuous by the surrounding darkness, and faintly indicating the wide out-lying danger. The faithful few are loud in their lamentations over the degenerate Church. How the flocks of the national folds were fed and guarded, may be partly surmised from the character of their Pastors; and the character of their Pastors may be fairly gathered from the lips of their Bishops. “Our Ember weeks,” says Bishop Burnet, “are the burden and grief of my life. The much greater part of those who come to be ordained are ignorant, to a degree not to be apprehended by those who are not obliged to know it. The easiest part of knowledge is that to which they are greatest strangers; I mean,

the plainest part of the Scriptures, which they say, in excuse for their ignorance, that their tutors in the Universities never mention the reading of to them; so that they can give no account, or at least a very imperfect one, of the contents even of the Gospels. Those who have read some few books, yet never seem to have read the Scriptures. Many cannot give a tolerable account even of the Catechism itself, how short and plain soever. They cry, and think it a sad disgrace, to be denied orders, though the ignorance of some is such, that, in a well-regulated state of things, they would appear not knowing enough to be admitted to the holy sacrament.* Now, if these were conscientiously rejected by the good Bishop, those only one shade better were certainly admitted to orders, and charged with a cure of souls. And, if such was the spiritual darkness of those who ministered the word of truth to the people, how should these latter, forming the great bulk and body of the Church, be themselves "light in the Lord?" As in the Establishment, so also in the Dissenting Churches: with them, too, piety and usefulness had come to be the remarkable exception. Some had lapsed into the Socinian heresy; others were fallen into a state of torpor. If the candlestick was not yet removed out of its place, it cast a reproachful light over congregations of professors who had lost their first love, and were "neither hot nor cold" in the service and worship of God. The decay of practical religion is sorely lamented by the devout few, who distinguish the Nonconformist party of that day. In general, it is somewhat unfair—especially for the purpose of comparison and depreciation—to draw our estimate of the piety of a Church from the humbling admissions of its best and holiest members; for the standard of such men is unusually high, and their sense of error and shortcoming unusually acute. With them, the tender conscience seems charged with all the conduct of the Church; and with jealous eyes, as over their own souls, they closely mark and grievously deplore its sins, whether of action or defect. But, at the period of which we speak, the testimonies are too many, too uniform, and too distinct, to allow us to doubt of the degeneracy of the voluntary Churches, as being common to them with that of the Church by law established. Dr. Isaac Watts admits it for his own, as he fears it is a confession due also from other bodies. "It is," says he, "a general matter of mournful observation among all that lay the cause of God to heart; and therefore it cannot be thought amiss for every one to use all just and proper efforts for the recovery of dying religion in the world."†

But was not the Church characterized by orthodoxy and morality? This is sometimes asked, as though all that sober Christians can require were necessarily included in those two

* See Preface to *Essay on the Pastoral Care*. 1713.

† See Preface to *An Humble Attempt towards the Revival of Practical Religion*, 1735.

words. Yet, granting (what is not wholly beyond dispute) that the Church was entitled to this praise, it could not have long remained so, while destitute of the animating principle of evangelical and practical godliness; for both sound morality and scriptural orthodoxy are incapable of engrafture either on the natural heart or on unreformed society; and a general state of formality and irreligion is soon followed by infidelity in the more educated classes. So it was at this time. The deism of Chubb, Toland, and other literary oracles, already so fashionable with those who were desirous of being esteemed learned or intellectual, began seriously to affect the Church itself. The ignorance which Bishop Burnet so feelingly laments was no bar to the expression of a clerical scoff at Christianity. The highest dignitaries and the obscurest of country Parsons were equally indifferent or contemptuous; and both humility and gratitude too often failed to keep silent either the starving Curate or the wealthy pluralist. Even the Universities—the very mirrors of orthodox example to the Church, and the fountain-heads of all her piety and teaching—were insidiously corrupted with the spirit of scepticism, and threatened to betray the whole land into the power of a faithless ministry. At Oxford, these principles increased so rapidly, that alarm was suddenly taken; and the Vice-Chancellor, with the consent of the Heads of Houses and Proctors, issued a *Programma*, in which this danger was exposed and deprecated; and the Tutors of each College and Hall were urged to “discharge their duty by a double diligence, by instructing their respective pupils in their Christian duty, as also by explaining to them the ‘Articles of Religion’ which they professed, and were often called upon to subscribe, and by recommending to them the frequent and careful reading of the Scriptures, and of such other books as might serve more effectually to promote Christianity, sound principles, and orthodox faith.” Even in the adoption of this cautionary measure, so due to the character of the University and the claims of religion, all in authority were not agreed; and the Dean of Christ-Church would not suffer this *Programma* to be put up in the hall of his College.

Such was the disheartening state of the English Church in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. But a change was close at hand. There is a mysterious alternation of light and darkness in the moral world; and, when the night is deepest, the dawn is nearest. And now the watchmen, who slumbered at their post, were to be awakened by the beams of morning. There are seasons in the economy of grace, as well as in that of nature; and to the Christian, as well as to the poet, it is given to “rejoice in hope:” *When winter comes can spring be far behind?* And so it was at this dreary period. Night and winter had both seized upon the Church. Like a frosted landscape glimmering in the moonlight, it caught and reflected rather the secondary than the primary truths of Christianity, and wore its

intellectual rather than its spiritual aspect. Its articles of faith were trees, symmetrical but bare, with sap at their roots, but no green foliage on their boughs, loaded with curious hoar-frost, and not bowed down with fruit. Its means of grace were to multitudes only as ice-bound channels: no longer living streams, they awaited the advent of the heavenly day-spring to melt their formal fetters, and send them sparkling and singing over renovated plains.

The first to hail the coming breath of spring are often those who are destined never to behold its flowers; and, when the gracious Spirit of God is about to be poured out on a dry and drooping church, the first intimation is sometimes given to one, himself invited to the fountain-head, and already passing into the unseen world. It was thus that the divine purposes of blessing were foreseen, at this time, by an aged servant of the Gospel, as though, in nearing the eternal city, he was permitted to hear some faint commotion, that betokened unusual grace to man. "Be steady," said the dying Rector of Epworth, placing his hands upon the head of his youngest son. "The Christian faith will surely revive in this kingdom. You shall see it, though I shall not." The serious temper of his children, already deepening into religious ardour, may, indeed, have served to prompt and encourage this strong faith; but the words of the speaker were at least remarkable; for events that speedily followed soon gave them something of the force of prophecy. The young man at this good patriarch's feet had already earned the opprobrious name of "Methodist."

When we mention the rise of Methodism as bringing that great change to which we have referred, is some reader disposed to charge our language with exaggeration? Yet let him pause a moment and reflect, and summon all his knowledge and all his charity to assist his judgment. We have no doubt *then* as to the conclusion, which we only value as it is catholic and impartial. Let no sectarian prejudice or preference interfere; but only that love of evangelic truth with which the love and service of our species are so intimately joined. We fear not, then, to over-state a blessing which is incalculable. The influence of that humble band of Methodists, despised and persecuted though they were, was destined largely to affect the moral history of the world: for magnitude, permanence, and importance, it will compare with that of the Reformation itself. What was achieved in the sixteenth century for orthodox belief and for religious liberty, was effected in the eighteenth for practical godliness and expansive Christian charity. In the rise of Methodism in the bosom of the Protestant English Church, we recognise the first great impulse given to the spread of evangelical religion, not as a mere form of doctrine, but as a rule of popular and daily life, acting first and most forcibly upon the outcast and humbler classes of society, since propagated from the lowest upwards, and insensibly

affecting those Churches with which it had little but the name of Christ in common. Neither has its activity abated to the present day, but multiplied itself in a thousand directions by a thousand different agencies. And if we would gain some faint idea of the results of that great movement, we must look for them, not in one Church, or class, or country: it is known by many names, and calls none but Christ "Lord;" and, fitted to breathe wherever humanity can respire, and even to give life where humanity is ready to perish, it has gone over into every clime, and seems destined, like the natural sun whose course it emulates, to dry up every noisome marsh of sin, and temper every fierce *Euroclydon* of sorrow.

But this is praise which cannot be wholly applied, or exactly limited, to any section of the modern Church; for it is the spirit and power of Christianity itself,—living, animating, and diffusive Christianity. And if these were the beneficent and expansive tendencies of Methodism from the first, and if such is the wide and still-increasing area of its present fruitfulness, it is clear that no partial or sectarian views restrained the mission of its earliest members; and not less clear, that a measure of its energy and warmth passed silently into communions, where its name and history were hardly known. And, in regard to that family of Christian Churches in which the recollections and traditions of this revival are still cherished, whose members desire continually to live in its spirit of zeal and charity, and to walk by its rule of primitive simplicity and fellowship, and who care not to shun the reproach attaching to its humble name, the test of all who worthily profess themselves by this designation is afforded in few words: Is their religion a happy development of practical and catholic Christianity?

But—to draw a little nearer to our immediate subject—the good effects of this revival are not all insensibly diffused throughout the church and the world. A substantive product of it challenges the attention of the present day. Methodism was not destined to subserve a merely temporary purpose, and then wholly vanish out of sight. To those who had little relished the disturbance of their religious complacency, its silent disappearance would have been most welcome; they would have turned with satisfaction on their other side, composed themselves once more to sleep, and dreamed that it was all a dream. But God mercifully ordered otherwise: for through His providence, by turns directing and seconding the labours of its most eminent leader, the chief elements of Methodism became gradually embodied in a vast system of evangelization and religious teaching, till, outgrowing the dimensions of a subsidiary church-society, it assumed the proportions and exercised the functions of an independent missionary Church. How this came to pass, is one of the most interesting studies of ecclesiastical history. To compare spiritual things with natural, the unpremeditated

growth and ultimate extension of this religious institute bear strong resemblance to the growth and extension of the British constitution and empire; and, in the singular providence of God, the one seems to have prepared a mighty channel for the other. Under the fostering care of British Methodism, flourish a large family of colonial Churches. But not to this empire, nor even to bounds determined by those of the English language, are these results confined. On the American continent one vigorous offspring of Methodism has found a prosperous and independent home, thus strikingly sustaining the parallel suggested; and long in Ireland, and now in France, and presently on the vast Australian plains, have been or shortly may be seen the cheering spectacle of these religious settlements, each the centre of active operations on the irreligion of the world. And if, in time future, (though we cannot anticipate the period,) no visible representative of the Methodism of the eighteenth century should survive in this country, the seed already sown broad-cast in the world, and carried by providential winds into far distant lands, and there falling into new and vigorous soils, will doubtless cover and adorn innumerable wastes with verdure, and whiten to the great millennial harvest.

In this unusual and rapid spread no serious or candid person can fail to recognise divine influence and blessing; for when we consider how little the doctrines and practices of Methodism are suited to flatter the pride or excuse the passions of our corrupt nature, confessedly nothing but a supernatural power is adequate to these results. Under similar conditions no parallel can be adduced:—certainly not Popery, in any of its forms. To say that Methodism, in its organic shape, has far more ably answered the pure ends of an earnest evangelical Protestantism than the Society of Jesuits has furthered the sinister designs of Popery, is not to settle their respective claims, or determine their relative inherent power. Weeds have small need of culture, but grow rapidly in the rank degenerate earth; it is another and far different thing, to plant gardens that promise to replace the glory of Eden. The vessel which is carried down the stream may, indeed, be drifted and guided into every port by turns; but to remount the river of our desperate nature, and reach near to its divine, unsullied springs, demands a principle of fire within.

It would be equally absurd and false, however, to deny that there was and is a capacity even in fallen humanity for the reception of such choice blessings, or that appropriate human agency is largely employed in every true evangelizing work. Both of these great principles are very plainly to be recognised in the economy of providence and grace. Man is still the creature of God, how deep soever may be his degradation; and the provisions of the Gospel are exquisitely suited to his perishing condition. Hence one prime reason that religious truth should any way prevail. God has chosen to accomplish his designs by

instrumentality, wholly ineffectual of itself, but ordered and endued and perfectly efficient by virtue of his sovereign will. Hence the progress of religion in the world is seemingly dependent on, and is actually modified by, the force of human character and circumstances. The history of Methodism furnishes ample illustration of both these truths; but only that last-named is relevant to our present purpose. The instruments of this great revival were, as regards the leading few, men of eminent natural parts; some were highly accomplished in matters of human learning; and, in one of them at least, these gifts and acquirements were richly united, and employed to the uttermost advantage. Heroes the world had often seen, fired either with secular or ecclesiastical ambition; but Providence now destined one for nobler usefulness, and inspired him with a purer aim. In raising this great missionary Church to further His designs of mercy to the world, how largely was God pleased to honour the piety and genius of JOHN WESLEY!

We know not where it would be possible to find a parallel, either to the character or the career of this extraordinary man. The whole history of his life—extending through almost the entire century of his birth—has perhaps no equal, for high and varied interest. It fascinates alike philosopher and Christian, and is not without a powerful charm for the luxurious student of humanity. Apart even from the great object which knit all his purposes together, and made the fruit of his personal labours a valuable heritage to his own and to future generations, the mere thread of his biography leads the reader towards a thousand sources of curious entertainment, which in the age of folios would have found some huge and independent monument, or received copious illustration in the pages of some erudite and curious Bayle. In the story of his family alone, there is a world of interest and instruction. The portrait of the elder Wesley is a study by itself; and still more so, that of his admirable wife. In each of these we have noble specimens of the sort of parentage in which Englishmen not unfrequently rejoice,—serious, devout, painstaking, orderly, and firm; the father, worthy to represent the loyal, orthodox, and faithful Parson of the English Church; the mother, born to conduct and discipline the youthful course of men like John and Charles Wesley. In the character and fortunes of their other children, how much there is to rivet and reward attention!—in Samuel, the honest churchman, the faithful son, the constant friend, beloved by Atterbury, and admired by Pope; in the daughters, Kezzy, Martha, and Hetty, all so gifted and unhappy, whose lively sensibility and quick intelligence only sharpened the misery of misplaced attachment and unmerited desertion. All the members of this family had something of the gift of poetry. Samuel, the father, left behind him an excellent piece entitled “*Eupolis’ Hymn to the Creator*,”—not to insist upon his more ambitious, but less interesting,

"Life of Christ." Samuel, the younger, was still more favoured by the Muses. He published a variety of moral and satirical poems, and was the author of that fine hymn, so touching at the funeral of the young : *The morning flowers display their sweets*. The sisters, too, learned to beguile their sorrows, and to rob them of half their stern reality, by coining them into melodious verse, not, indeed, of any great merit, but equal, at least, to that of the admired Orindas of the day. Charles Wesley was, perhaps, the most gifted minstrel of the modern Church ; none, since the Psalmist, has embodied in strains so genuine the religious exercises of the soul ; and to a vast number of devout congregations, lifting their voices in widely distant lands, his hymns supply the place of liturgy and psalter. As to John Wesley, it is the least of his extraordinary merits ; yet he, too, was born a poet of no vulgar grade ; and the excellence of many of his sacred pieces, both original and translated, gives evidence that the lyre which he laid upon the altar, subject only to celestial airs, is worthy to be mentioned among those many gifts which he refused to employ for his own aggrandizement or pleasure.

Such were the members of this remarkable family ; but perhaps some others, equally favoured by nature and exercised by fortune, have left no trace behind them ; and these to the historic eye will henceforth group themselves round one commanding figure, and owe to that connexion the rare notice of posterity. The name of Wesley, like the kindred name of Wellesley, summons to the mind one image of embodied power and resolution, one chosen instrument of the gracious providence of God, and one long train of precious and incalculable blessings.*

* This is not the first time that the name of the Founder of Methodism has suggested that of the Hero of Waterloo, nor is it likely to be the last. This circumstance is due to more points of coincidence than one. It is well known that the late Duke of Wellington commenced life as Arthur Wesley, in which form his name appears in the Army-List for the year 1800. This fact is readily associated in the mind with an important incident in the life of his grandfather, Richard Colley, who, when Charles, the brother of John Wesley, declined the offer of Garret Wesley, of Dangan Castle, Ireland, was adopted heir to the name and property of that gentleman ; and so the family of Mornington attained that first position from which a young cadet of the second generation was to carry it on to the highest step of the peerage, and the most illustrious page of history. Taken together, these incidents are sufficient to suggest at least the probable identity of the families of Wellesley and Wesley ; and there are reasons, not yet noticed, for supposing that at no distant period their actual ancestry would be found to merge in the same progenitor. In the character and career of the Founder of Methodism we find much that is characteristic also of the late famous defender of Europe. For strict habits and great hardihood they were both remarkable. Each rose early, employed every waking moment to the best advantage, and retired at an unvarying hour to rest. John Wesley, it is said, had sleep at his command ; and on his long journeys of apostolic labour, when it happened that he could neither read nor write, (as frequently he did on horseback or in a carriage,) one thing he could do : he would shut his eyes, and take needful rest in sleep. Of Wellington we believe the same thing may be said : he, too, could sleep in the saddle : the habitual vigilance of his nature enabled him to choose a moment of repose, and the admirable temper of his spirit permitted it to rest at his volition.

There are two questions that present themselves, in any attempt to determine the value of a public and beneficent career. Was the object proposed of so high and rare importance as to merit the constant, earnest, and exclusive application of abundant natural gifts? Were the means employed for the accomplishment of this object dictated by truest wisdom and justified by pure and permanent success? Let us apply these to the general career of Wesley. What has been disparagingly said of many of his religious followers, was eminently and honourably true of him: he was a man of one great practical idea. Is any disposed to esteem him the less for that? Yet such were all those who have divided the world's history between them, and severally given their names to its most famous chapters. They were men of one idea,—of one predominant, prolific, central thought, which absorbed and ordered all the energies and resources of life to the nourishment of one great purpose, as the brain takes tribute of intelligence from the extremest point and member of the body, but which furnished in return sensibility, and life, and action to every subordinate and sluggish particle. O the omnipotence of one idea! In business it makes colossal fortunes; in science it insures profound discoveries; in art it blazons splendid reputations. What has not been achieved by this cold, clear, but fusing, temperament; this chastened enthusiasm; this intelligent co-ordination of the mind and will? Powerful alike for good and evil, in state-craft it has founded and confounded empires. Abused in one grand instance to subvert the truth, in Popery it has usurped the regency of souls,—assumed the attributes and tithed the heritage of God. And this has been wrought by human instruments, on merely human elements; tampering, indeed, with the spiritual intuitions of our nature, but unaided by divine communications. What, then,

Again: in the practical stamp of their minds, and especially in the laconic style of their writings, the resemblance between these men is very striking. The Dispatches of Wellington and the Journals of Wesley might have been dictated by the same person, if the style and temper of the writer only be considered. Their letters, too, are strongly marked in a very similar manner: they have brevity without obscurity, and force without vehemence, and particularity without trifling. Duty, according to the standard which he recognised, was the law of each: inflexibility the temper, and common sense the active servant, of its performance. Even the features of these personages had no small resemblance to each other; and we see a further coincidence in the health and length of days with which they both were honoured. Circumstances allowing, and spiritual convictions absent, we can imagine Wesley undertaking and sustaining the part of Wellington almost without the slightest diversity. Visited by the same strong sense of existing evil and divine mercy, we conceive that if Providence had chosen Wellington as the instrument of evangelizing the world by his preaching and example, instead of protecting it by his sword and counsel, the character of the man would readily have adapted itself to his great mission. The parallel might be pursued to the amazing results of the personal labours of each. Those of Wellington have been recently indicated by innumerable pens; and the historian of the Peninsular campaigns has said also of Wesley, "I consider him as the most influential mind of the last century,—the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps millenniums, hence, if the present race of men should continue so long."—*Southey, in Wilberforce Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 388.

might be expected from the enlightened and devoted enthusiast for religious truth,—from the Gospel herald, charged with the convincing word, and seconded by the disarming Spirit? A handful of such faithful men might surely revolutionize the moral world, and recover it to the authority and sway of Christ.

We are frequently surprised to hear, that Wesley was not this, and did not do that, when, perhaps, it was his daily prayer that *this* he might never become, and that *that* he might never be led aside to do. Could the object of his life have been sublimer?—Might his energies and length of days have been more thoroughly devoted to it? These are questions far more pertinent and just; and the answer to them is, perhaps, such as the annals of no other life could furnish. What might have been achieved by such a man,—his gifts, his acquirements, and, above all, his resolute moral purpose considered,—we cannot say, and, perhaps, dare not, if we could. The same energy, self-sacrifice, and singleness of mind, seconded by so great a love of order, so much sagacity, such wide experience both of men and things,—these, devoted to the cause of any earthly sovereign, and exercised through three parts of a century, could scarcely have suffered him to remain lower than second in the empire of his birth. But he was called to a higher and more fruitful mission. He was early impressed with the idea of his life being, in an especial manner, due and destined to God and to his cause. He sees the hand of Providence in the disappointment of his natural affections, knowing that, otherwise, “he might have set up his rest in this world, and forgotten the work for which he was born.” This was before the manner of salvation was made clear to him by his own experience,—before the work of an Evangelist, in all its simplicity and power, was imparted to him. He knew that God had a message to the world; he felt its importance to be something awful, and that himself was a chosen messenger; but the burthen of the Lord was only dimly present to his mind. Yet we may notice how the Providence of God prepared this instrument of mercy for his future apostolic labours. The errors of his zealous conscientiousness were so much spiritual experience, to be turned by him, through exposition, and warning, and controversy, to the guidance of the Church of God. Thus, at Oxford, he feels (like many thousands, both before and since) that, to serve God, in every act and thought, is at once a peremptory and impossible obligation. Missing the righteousness that is by faith, he seems to crave some burden to lift,—some pain to endure,—some darling deeds to crucify,—some miracles of mortifying labour to perform; and this, not (as afterwards) from a simple and intense desire for the glory of God, but also to avert some spiritual and impending evil,—to secure some personal satisfaction,—to earn the forbearance, if not the favour, of Heaven. Thorough and practised theologian as he was, he yet missed of the kingdom of heaven, which is readily attained by

child-like faith. Too sophisticate, he must surrender all his pride of learning, and pass, with thankful heart, from the feet of Gamaliel to the feet of Jesus and his Cross. The time of his conversion was preceded, like that of Paul, by a state of blindness. He was allowed to grope after every door of hope, before finding that which Christ has set open, and which no man can shut. He was to be able to forewarn others of a thousand spiritual errors, and so was allowed to feel, as well as to see, the fruitlessness of misdirected efforts after human virtue,—doomed to roll up the recoiling stone of Sisyphus, and to fill the many-pierced vessels of the Naiads. But when the Gospel was apprehended in simplicity and fulness, and he felt the expansive gladness of a new and better nature, he soon learned also what was his providential calling. Henceforth he was to live “the servant of mankind.” The High-Churchman began now to be weaned of prejudice and error,—to breathe a catholic instead of an exclusive spirit. The lover of church-order—such both by temperament and education—must learn, at the dictate of conscience, to transgress church-discipline; to preach in the field or in the barn, with or without rubric; and, at length, even to associate with himself a band of humble Preachers, on whom no *lineal* hand had conferred the apostolic unction. In this spirit he went about doing good,—travelled more miles, and preached more sermons, and wrote more books, than any since the day when Paul laid down his life at Rome; and not only did good by personal labours and example, but raised and trained, under the divine blessing, a body of plain, and earnest, and popular Evangelists, and organized a system of religious instruction and improvement, which has extended far beyond all that even his great faith was privileged to foresee.

If a rapid sketch could do justice to the career of Wesley, we should be tempted to give it in this place. As a mere picture of prodigious industry and sustained effort,—of methodical, but zealous, labour, continued almost to the verge of ninety years,—we are persuaded it would be far beyond all human comparison. The variety and extent of his performances exceed those of any Reformer that the Church has seen. The zeal of Luther, and the sagacity of Loyola, were both united in this man. His heroic courage and constancy may be disguised for a moment by the practical and daily wisdom which directed them; but reflection soon forces us to recognise these elements of true greatness, and his life, as a whole, throws over the contemplating mind a colossal shadow of awe and reverence. But we have no space for even the outline of such a course.* We shall proceed at

* The writings of Wesley alone demand a separate attention. These have never received a tithe of that regard which they deserve. His “Journals” are unique in human literature,—a monument of incredible exertions, and testifying at once to the candour of his mind, the constancy of his purpose, the promptitude of his judgment, the charity of his heart, the variety of his knowledge, the nicety of his taste, and the vigour

once, therefore, to fulfil our first intention, by passing directly under review some of those works which, from time to time, have been offered to the world in illustration of the character and career of Wesley.

The assailants of Wesley, during his life-time, were neither few nor insignificant; but they may safely be left, some to the oblivion which so speedily overtook them, and others to such consideration as Wesley himself afforded them in his occasional replies. No religious sect was ever submitted to such fierce and continued vituperation as the body of Methodists; and all these bolts of opposition were concentrated on the head of their impassive leader. Wesley went calmly on his way, in spite of all, or shook them, literally, like dew-drops, from him. At length, the temporal reward of his constancy came to him, in the shape of outward veneration and respect; and he who had feared no man, nor inquired of any but his own conscience and the Word of God, passed his last days of serene, but active, piety, under the favour and protection of the public. Even to the end, however, of his personal career, the principles which actuated him were grossly misapprehended and traduced, in many publications. The first account of his life which appeared after his decease was inspired by resentment; and the author of the second, intrusted with more authentic details, was seduced by the two-fold love of popularity and money, to violate his own engagement, and to do injustice to the memory and intentions of his venerable patron. To these works of Hampson and Whitehead succeeded a memoir, drawn up by Dr. Coke and Henry Moore, at the instance of the Wesleyan Conference; and many errors and misrepresentations concerning the character of Wesley were set right by these, his intimate friends and associates. To none of these accounts, however, shall we more particularly turn, as each has been superseded by works of greater value and completeness. The first in popularity, and not the least in merit, is that which bears the name of Robert Southey.

of his literary powers. His sermons form a body of doctrinal and practical theology, which, for brevity and clearness of expression, for harmonizing views of divine grace and the conditions of salvation, and for scriptural statements of Christian duty and privilege,—are nowhere surpassed in this or any language. His controversial tracts exhibit a mastery of technical logic, which cause the reader to rejoice that so trenchant a weapon was put into the hands of so fair a combatant. In every one of these polemical discussions, the temper displayed is worthy of the cause defended. The courteous manner is not that of a man irritated or contemptuous, but of one who habitually economized his words, and to whom the spending of a needless moment was felt to be a loss to the Church of God and perishing souls. His miscellaneous writings are numerous and instructive, and characterized by the same judgment and skill. They include letters to all sorts of persons, young and old; grammars of all sorts of languages, ancient and modern; prefaces to all sorts of books, secular and religious; tracts upon all sorts of subjects, moral and political. True, every matter in this encyclopedic series is coloured by the author's individual mind, and treated in his usual decisive manner; but this was never objected to in Johnson, or any other of the world's great teachers, as derogating from the authority of wisdom, or even as wanting in its own peculiar charm.

The announcement of Southey's "*Life of Wesley*" awakened the attention of very different parties. Some were admirers of the laurelled author; others were drawn by love and reverence to the apostolic hero; and each of these classes was concerned to know how the literary moralist would deport himself amid the difficulties of an evangelical, and, withal, somewhat polemical, biography. Among general readers, the work was certain to find favour and acceptance. Whatever its theological defects might be, the work of Robert Southey could not fail in literary attractiveness; and whatever the bias of its treatment, the life of John Wesley was sure to possess an interest of its own. So admirable a narrator has seldom furnished himself with so remarkable a history. Many of the peculiar features of his subject were just those to attract the curious eyes, and to reward the graphic pencil, of this skilled and thoughtful writer. In such hands, all that was external in the rise, and progress, and spread of Methodism, must needs be ably, though it might not be, in all respects, accurately, depicted; and many of the psychological phenomena presented at this period, by the confluence of supernatural power with the sullen tide of human depravity, were known to have an especial charm for this student and lover of his species. In this last particular lay both the fascination and the difficulty of our author's task.

When the book appeared, it did not disappoint the public expectation. It was found to be tasteful, curious, and anecdotal; serious in manner and tolerant in spirit, investing what had been regarded by many as a vulgar theme, with classic graces, and rescuing the servants of the Gospel from the sneers and slanders of bigotry and fashion. It revealed a world of interest in the lives and deeds of poor, despised, itinerating Preachers; and in their leader discovered a hero, who put aside the learning, that he might emulate the labours, of a Paul. The book became a favourite with many of the most accomplished persons of the day. "To this work," said Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "and to the '*Life of Richard Baxter*,' I was used to resort, whenever sickness and languor made me feel the want of an old friend, of whose company I could never be tired. How many and many an hour of self-oblivion do I owe to this '*Life of Wesley*!' and how often have I argued with it, questioned, remonstrated, been peevish, and asked pardon; then again listened, and cried, 'Right! excellent!' for that I heard, and listened, and was soothed, though I could make no reply." And then, in a concluding exclamation of regret, we have some intimation of the kind of interest which Coleridge felt in this biography: "Ah that Robert Southey had fulfilled his intention of writing a history of the Monastic Orders, or would become the biographer, at least, of Loyola, Xavier, Dominic, and the other remarkable Founders!" In this expression of regret we sincerely join. For ecclesiastical biography of this kind Dr. Southey had some

remarkable qualifications. His learning, and his literary resources generally, were unusually great; his industry and research were hardly to be paralleled among men of letters; his biographical detail had all the charm and faithfulness of portraiture; and his general style was elegant, both in the popular and in the derivative sense. The life of a Romish Missionary, in his hands, would have been subject only to one great drawback: unconsciously on its author's part, it would have presented too flattering a picture of that subtle agent of a sinister and fallen Church; and many beautiful accessories, both of human and inanimate nature, would have tended to hide from our eyes the prolific evils that must arise when a corrupted form of Christianity is engrafted on the undestroyed vitality of Pagan superstitions. Yet such a work would have been valuable for its stores of information; and, perhaps, the high-toned Christian morality of its author, though wanting in evangelical clearness and decision, would have insured an occasional and sufficient check to his looser and more general sympathies.

In speaking of this "*Life of Wesley*," we are loth to speak in any but the language of praise. We believe that Southey's publication was intended as a sincere tribute to a man of unusual excellence and greatness. As a life of Wesley, its comparative merit is as little to be denied as its undoubted interest. It was an immense advance beyond the fierce intolerance of Bishops Warburton and Lavington. The author rose above a thousand vulgar prejudices by virtue of his humane and generous spirit, and escaped a thousand natural mistakes by the exercise of candour and diligence in the performance of his task. As already intimated, he was qualified by many gifts and acquirements for doing justice to the more external features of Methodism in its early course; and when he is not equally just in his animadversions and reflections, the fidelity of his narrative supplies a corrective to the spiritually-minded and unbiassed reader. If the author has failed to penetrate the simple, but sublime, philosophy of his evangelic theme, he is not without a measure of sympathy for the virtues of his apostolic hero. To those of his readers who more truly appreciate the religious principles of Wesley, no great misapprehension can arise. As a whole, while faithfully (in the main) recording the facts as they arose, the work before us could not entirely fail in reflecting the spirit of that great Revival. Of this the author's own inconsistencies are no small proof. His Church theories are for ever breaking down under the march of more stupendous and authoritative truths; and his offended tastes are continually expanding into a healthier and nobler standard of what is excellent and good.

But—we have deferred this little word as long as possible, and admit it with reluctance even now—there are serious drawbacks to the merit and value of this performance. Our respect for the memory of Southey must not cause us to forget or overlook the

fact, that in many passages he has strongly aspersed the character of Wesley. A gross and wilful slanderer has little power to injure the repute of goodness: but the case is very different with an author comparatively so fair and liberal. The sweetness that masques the poison increases the unlikelihood of its rejection; and so rather strengthens than diminishes the danger. The literary graces of this production, the general candour of its reflexions, and the verisimilitude imparted to its narrative,—all of which assure us that Southey's "*Life of Wesley*" will long remain a favourite biography,—render it only the more imperative that Dr. Southey's readers should be set upon their guard; for ignorance and prejudice have occasionally seduced him into gross injustice. Strictly viewed, with reference more to the exact truth concerning Wesley and the cause in which he was engaged, than to the sincerity and ability of its author, the amount of misrepresentation in this work is very serious. It brings a flimsy philosophy to explicate some of the most important mysteries of religion, and especially to disprove the reality of that Christian experience, which has been the chief source of comfort and confidence to all true believers in every age. It lays to Wesley's charge things which he knew not; magnifies his personal credulity; exaggerates into enthusiasm his clear and cool and reasonable and constant zeal; and then strangely charges him with ambition and a boundless love of power! With all his admiration for the religious character of his hero,—and this is very considerable,—he has still more for his inflexibility of purpose, for his power of ruling men in small or larger masses, and for the sagacity and skill with which he organized the Societies under his care. And, determined that a hero he shall be, (and one, too, after his own heart,) wielding, for the love of it, an ecclesiastical supremacy over many subject souls, he thinks of him as of a Protestant Loyola, fired with the same spiritual ambition, and hardly less scrupulous in the use of proselyting means. Strange, that the inconsistency as well as the gross untruth of this should not have appeared to Southey! that he could have forgotten the manner in which God owned the labours of this great Evangelist, as well as of his brother Charles and Whitefield, even according to his own confession! that he should have turned a deaf ear or doubtful mind to those piercing cries of one smitten with the love of souls, and gladly burdened with a vast commission!—

"The love of Christ doth me constrain
To seek the wandering souls of men;
With cries, entreaties, tears, to save,
And snatch them from the gaping grave.

"My life, my blood, I here present,
If for thy truth they may be spent:
Fulfil thy sovereign counsel, Lord!
Thy will be done, thy name adored."

It was not likely, under these circumstances, that those to whom Wesley's reputation was dearest, and who had entered into the spiritual charge of his Societies, should be satisfied with the tendency of Southey's popular volumes. A sacred cause and a spotless character were both compromised and threatened; and both were a solemn trust to that large community which is legally represented and faithfully served by the Wesleyan Conference. By appointment of that assembly, a champion was presently forthcoming; and so Robert Southey fell into the hands of Richard Watson.

When this great preacher and theologian undertook to correct the misrepresentations of the "*Life of Wesley*," all who knew the superior order of his mind, his thorough preparedness, and the serious temper in which he was likely to engage in what he believed to be the cause of God, expected no half-answer from his pen. No word of levity that had escaped the Laureate, and no sophistical explanation of divine things attempted in his narrative, and no ill-founded charge against the good and great man whom he had chosen for the subject of his alternate censure and approval, was likely to evade the notice of this masterly polemic. What might fairly pass muster with the reading public, and even charm the languid hours of the philosopher of Highgate, was now to be sifted like wheat, after a heavy flail had first divided the grain from the chaff. And when Mr. Watson's tract appeared, it was found answerable to the character of its author. As a reply to Dr. Southey's charges, it was complete and irresistible. Till then, the reader of the "*Life of Wesley*" had never dreamed that it was so full of errors,—so elegant the composition, so plausible the views, so far above suspicion the dignified and able writer. But Watson exposed the least as well as the greatest of its faults, and showed them to abound in almost every page; and proved the fatuity and falsehood of every injurious statement. Disdaining to lavish useless compliment where his general purpose was so different, he went direct to his appointed duty; and yet there was a grave and lofty courtesy in his language, and a moral weight in his reflections, that only served to render his rebuke more fatal. In all that learning which the subject called for, he approved himself the Laureate's master; and, by the tone and tenor of a high Christian philosophy, was enabled to reduce, to almost contemptible proportions, the loose and feeble speculations of his author. Above all, in the theology of the English Church,—to a knowledge of which Dr. Southey, though a layman, made no ordinary pretensions,—the superiority of Watson was manifest; and by this advantage he was enabled not only to vindicate the catholic orthodoxy of Wesleyan doctrine and practice, but to convict the biographer of Wesley of gross incompetency for his voluntary task. Thus, with weapons out of his own vaunted armoury, he reduces the adversary of evangelical religion. With ready and copious learning, he brings the Fathers of the Protestant Church

of England to confirm the teaching of this strange sect; and from the writings of these worthies, and the Articles and Homilies of the Church itself, he shows that the doctrines thought to be peculiar to Methodism, and vilified as the spurious products of enthusiasm, belong, in reality, to that reformed and scriptural faith which Dr. Southey himself professed. It is at this point of his argument that our critic anticipates the charge of undue severity; and his remark in self-defence may be quoted as an instance of his trenchant manner: "If any should say, that it is too much to expect that the Poet Laureate should be a Divine, the answer is, that without a common initiation, at least, in the principles of religion, the Poet Laureate ought not to have uttered his *dicta* on the points referred to. It is surely not too much to expect that a professed member of the Church of England should understand his Catechism and the Book of Common Prayer."*

On the whole, we are disposed to think that Mr. Watson *was* somewhat too severe on this occasion. If Dr. Southey was compelled to acknowledge—as we have reason to believe he did at a subsequent period—that he was justly brought to task for making false and injurious statements, he had also some occasion for surprise at being treated as a flagrant enemy of Methodism. It was right and needful that the evangelical doctrines and practices of a large Christian community, as well as the religious character and pure intentions of its Founder, should be openly defended from the aspersions of so popular an author; but we think a tone of more friendly remonstrance might have been employed with equal effect; and, perhaps, a fuller acknowledgment was due to the comparative fairness and moderation of Dr. Southey. Yet, notwithstanding this abatement, we highly esteem the service rendered by Mr. Watson to the cause of truth. His animadversions are all warrantable in this regard. Nor must our reader, to whom this able tract may be unknown, suppose that the champion of Methodism was unfitted to appreciate, or unwilling to admit, the literary merits of the Poet Laureate. On more than one occasion he professes himself a reader and admirer of that author's poetry. But, with a mind cast in a sterner mould, and a calling that engaged and hallowed all his powers, he will not suffer these grateful recollections to mitigate the edge of his just censure. More frequently an allusion of this kind is introduced with terrible effect, to point our critic's shaft of irony, or to render the swift-following exposure only the more severe. The wreath of song is not,

* Nothing is more admirable in Mr. Watson's volume, than the philosophical spirit with which he discriminates between natural and spiritual phenomena, unless it be the moderation and judgment which mark his statements of important scriptural dogmas. Of this latter kind we may instance how well he guards the doctrine of human depravity from the extreme language of some Calvinistic writers,—language wholly at variance with the facts of human history, and quite unnecessary for the explication of divine truth.

indeed, withheld; but it seems to fall upon the head of a victim, and hardly for a moment is the sacrifice delayed.

It is probable, that a majority of those who are familiar with Southey's "*Life of Wesley*," have never read the "*Observations*" of Mr. Watson. And, unfortunately, the errors, which the latter work was intended to correct, are repeated in the recent, as they will doubtless be perpetuated through every future, edition of that work. For this we hold the editor, our author's son, in some degree responsible. It is well known that Dr. Southey greatly modified his published views of Wesley's character, wholly retracting the charge of an ambitious purpose in the formation of his Societies; and it is no less certain, that he made considerable preparations for an amended edition of the biography, which, indeed, was advertised as being in the press, just previously to the author's lamentable illness. Yet the son, upon whom the task of publication ultimately devolved, has thought proper to suppress every sign of this important change, and has suffered his father's memory to lose the advantage even of its bare acknowledgment. The reproach, in justice, will recoil upon himself. We esteem the honourable intention of the parent, and pity the son's mistaken churchmanship and pride. It happens, however, that Mr. Southey has allowed another to contradict his father, whom he would not suffer to correct himself,—so strange is his idea of filial duty! In Alexander Knox's paper, communicated to Dr. Southey, and published in this last edition, we have an interesting tribute to Wesley's simplicity of purpose; to the purity, happiness, and heavenly-mindedness which distinguished his serene old age, and evinced that no worldly considerations had biassed his career, or induced any act, the memory of which might serve to cloud the evening of his life. Of Mr. Coleridge's notes—also a feature of the new edition—we have little room and less desire to speak. They are remarkable for profound discrimination, both of terms and things. In them, language is denuded of its popular incrustations, and mind itself cunningly pierced and partially exposed through all its many plies, whether of education, sense, or habit. Yet these notes are unsatisfactory as a whole; their author's genius does not assist him in mastering the theology of Scripture; nay, it seems absolutely to mislead him, seducing him to venture far beyond the point where it has pleased God that man shall best recognise the relation of the creature to Himself. The blessings of religion are designed for every member of the human family, not for the gifted or much-instructed only; and even for the attainment of great discoveries in the economy of grace, and of large and consistent views of scriptural theology, the preparation necessary is more of a moral than a mental nature. And so it often happens, as in the case before us, that this super-subtlety of intellect is a practical disadvantage, even in the study of moral and religious science. It leads into a thousand metaphysical diversions, and corrupts the

simplicity of divine truth. It is as though a man should have a morbid prismatic vision, instead of an eye cunningly compounded of lens and counter-lens, engaging the use of many antagonistic properties, but all uniting to produce an act of simple perception.

The "Life of Wesley" which Mr. Watson himself prepared, is comparatively brief; but it contains, notwithstanding, a very lucid and able narrative of Wesley's religious history, and of the successive stages of his progress in forming the Societies under his care, and in providing for their spiritual and moral necessities. Indeed, this little work is a model of serious and succinct biography. Nothing irrelevant to its chief design, which regarded rather the public, than the merely personal, affairs of its subject, is admitted to weaken the effect of so important a relation. Yet, its fulness and completeness is surprising. Every topic, which a history of Wesley's labours would naturally touch upon, has here a brief, but fitting, allusion; and every feature of Methodism, which had been exposed to misconception or distortion, is here set right, with moderation of spirit as well as mastery of hand. Some fine criticism, also, is scattered over these pages; the poetry of Charles and the prose of John Wesley are characterized with judgment and discrimination. Here, too, the relations of Methodism to the Church of England, both in its earlier and later period, are lucidly and fairly stated. To those who would see, in brief compass, the chief steps in the career of this eminent Evangelist, we strongly commend the perusal of Mr. Watson's memoir.

A valuable substitute for Dr. Southey's volumes—hardly less interesting, and far more just, consistent, and reliable—appeared in the year 1825. It proceeded from the pen of Henry Moore, who was Wesley's son in the Gospel, and who, in conjunction with Dr. Coke, had compiled the first authentic account of the Founder of Methodism. Mr. Moore was now the sole surviving trustee of Mr. Wesley; he had lately recovered some important MSS., largely illustrating his career; and was, moreover, enabled to correct many mis-statements of a minor character, repeated by Southey, for which the limits and design both of Mr. Watson's tract and subsequent memoir furnished no equal opportunity. Under these circumstances the new biography, enlarged to two octavo volumes, and written on a comprehensive plan, had claims superior to any that had yet appeared. It is still unrivalled for its fulness and fidelity. The fortunes of the Wesley family are a singularly interesting feature of this book; and, with some of the more private incidents of John Wesley's course, they are almost pathetic in their character. As an example of the first, we may mention a letter of Mrs. Wesley to her brother Annesley, in which the poverty and distress of this remarkable family, painfully heightened by their contrasted education and accom-

plishments, is related in terms that move the reader to equal pity and admiration for that noble woman. Perhaps a finer example of the maternal character never adorned a Roman or an English home. Of her more eminent son, Mr. Moore gives some new particulars; and especially may be mentioned, as being here introduced for the first time, a remarkable copy of verses, inspired by strong love and sorrow, but breathing, also, a spirit of holy resignation. Wesley was now in the prime of life, and in the zenith of his triumphant labours. For the second time, the fountain of his human affections flowed towards a created object, and one so worthy of his love as to make the trial only the more difficult to bear; but Providence came to his assistance, and decided for him; for God chose that he should be devoted only to His church; and now he adds a further offering, even a bleeding heart, upon that altar which sanctifieth the gift.

In these volumes of Henry Moore, there is a pervading homogeneity, arising from the author's sympathy with his subject, which to us is very pleasant. There is something filial in his admiration for the venerable master, whose counsel and friendship were the chief blessings of his early manhood. Unlike the laurelled author who preceded him, he is of one mind with his hero, and profoundly enters into the sacred motives which hallowed all his actions, and rejoices in the fruit of such devotedness and zeal. If these motives and actions were more questionable, of course, this partiality would need to be guarded against; but, convinced as we are, (and as all must be who duly consider the nature and amount of his Christian and self-denying labours,) that Wesley was worthy of all the love and reverence he inspired, we feel it to be an advantage that he has found a congenial as well as competent biographer. Nor is the ability which Mr. Moore brought to his work of love to be lightly regarded. The author may be taken as a fair yet favourable example of Wesley's co-operators and successors. As a man, he was both shrewd and wise; as a Minister, diligent and faithful in his sacred calling. The volumes before us give evidence of no small measure of literary skill. The style is simple and unadorned, but even and judicious, and not without a certain elegance: it has, besides, a characteristic charm, distinct from that of its subject, yet beautifully harmonizing with it. We do not hesitate to pronounce it the best biography of Wesley.

The next writer who undertook to estimate the character and labours of Wesley was Mr. Isaac Taylor, well known by his original work entitled, "*Natural History of Enthusiasm*," and more recently by one on "*Loyola, and Jesuitism in its Rudiments*." This critic was supposed to have certain peculiar qualifications, and his production was expected with some interest. The hand which had lately drawn the features of the great arch-Jesuit, was now engaged on a companion-picture, equally full of

character, but marked by striking contrasts. Shall the study of Methodism, so remarkable in its origin, and so active in its influence upon the world of these last hundred years, have less interest or fascination for students of the present time, than that of the Society of Jesus, not, indeed, yet dissolved, but comparatively barren and uniformly dark? With no healthy mind could it be thus; and so, thoughtful men looked with curiosity for Mr. Taylor's book. At length it appeared—quietly, as this class of works are wont to do; still thoughtful men came round it and discussed it. They differed widely as to its literary merit and intrinsic value; but all agreed, whether for compliment or otherwise, that it was highly characteristic of its author. And so say we. What if, rather, it had more highly characterized its *subject*? But then the author must have been left very far behind.

Whatever the degree of Mr. Taylor's success, he has certainly produced no rival to the favourite work of Southey. Less comprehensive in plan, and less artistic in arrangement, it is inferior altogether in literary merit. It is only fair, however, to say that, its object not being strictly biographical, it would be invidious to force it into comparison with Southey's interesting volumes. Let us judge it fairly, according to its own pretensions, which, on some important grounds, are sufficiently aspiring. It claims to be a critical and philosophical study, in which both the principles and personages concerned in a remarkable religious movement are estimated and compared.

Though somewhat more extensive in its actual range, the title of Mr. Taylor's book is limited to "Wesley, and Methodism;" and his subject generally, though embracing other characters, and treated in smaller sections, divides itself naturally into two parts; namely, the religious revival of the last century, and the personal character and labours of its most honoured instrument. Of these general divisions, the latter most nearly concerns our present object; yet we must not omit all notice of the former, as it is the best and redeeming portion of a work to which we shall be bound to enter strong exceptions.

The spirit which animated the first Methodists is very justly appreciated by Mr. Taylor. In this part of his volume, the author has earned the praise of all lovers of catholic and evangelical truth. He cannot mistake, and will not depreciate, the character of a religious agitation, authenticated by so many proofs of divine favour, and issuing in so abundant a harvest of spiritual peace and joy. "It would not be easy," he says, "or not possible, to name any company of Christian Preachers, from the apostolic age downward to our times, whose proclamation of the Gospel has been in a larger proportion of instances effective, or which has been carried over so large a surface with so much power, or with so uniform a result. No such harvest of souls is recorded to have been gathered by any body of contemporary

men since the first century. An attempt to compute the converts to Methodistic Christianity would be a fruitless as well as presumptuous undertaking, from which we draw back; but we must not call in question, what is so variously and fully attested, that an unimpeachable Christian profession was the fruit of the Methodistic preaching in instances that must be computed by hundreds of thousands, throughout Great Britain and in America." So, also, in his individual sketches, our author well depicts the members of this apostolic band. Whitefield, with his affluence of spiritual gifts, his amazing eloquence, his zeal urging him so frequently to compass sea and land; and Charles Wesley, the fervent lyrist and liturgist,—these, the Barnabas and Apollos of Methodism, are nobly glanced at in these pages. Others, too, appear for a moment: as Coke, the Missionary; and Fletcher, of Madeley,—the Protestant St. Xavier and D'Assisi, whose holy faith and labours were ennobled and rewarded by their cause, and whose names are canonized in a more precious record than the Romish calendar of saints.

But what of the most eminent of this extraordinary company of Preachers? of him who, through a longer day, bore a far heavier burden, and headed the Christian march into the enemy's country, directed every assault, and went last to his rest and his reward? To John Wesley it is due, that the labours of these Evangelists are remembered as having been something more than unconnected skirmishes, and recorded rather as a well-fought and victorious campaign; and the chief interest of this period will always tend to him as the central figure. Mr. Taylor's estimate of Wesley, as gathered by the reader from different parts of this volume, is very unsatisfactory. It is much below the standard of his real character, even as witnessed to by so unprejudiced a judge as Southey. This depreciation, it is true, alternates with the language of approval; but this approval is often not so much qualified, as neutralized, by prompt and large exceptions. The work, indeed, is contradictory throughout; and the reason seems to be, that the facts of the case are far too strong for the philosophy called in. The moral worth and religious call of Wesley are freely admitted by our author: he does not question either the simplicity of his motives or the genuineness of his piety; he has strong terms of admiration for his courage, zeal, and constancy. But all that would account for his acknowledged pre-eminence, and all those remarkable gifts which, under the divine blessing, so largely contributed to his sustained and permanent influence upon the world at large, are omitted or denied. His intellectual powers are very greatly under-rated; his theology is summarily condemned; and the acknowledged prosperity of his designs during his life-time is qualified by very serious doubts of the value and stability of the church-institute he left behind him.

Mr. Taylor is willing to grant that Wesley was a master in

logic, but very plainly asserts that his mind was limited and mechanical; in short, that it was unphilosophical. In these days, a reproach of this kind is not necessarily startling or conclusive. The censure implied in the charge of being unphilosophical, is determined, as to weight and pungency, by the value of the censurer's own philosophy; and this consideration has relieved our mind, as we think it calculated also to vindicate the intellectual character of Wesley. We are not about to question the value of Mr. Taylor's own writings, which, if not very trustworthy as to all that they *contain*, are often valuable for the truths which they *suggest*. But we cannot regret that the revered Wesley was not in like manner philosophical. Even his written works—so small a portion of his labours—will compare, we think, with advantage, as to these and other literary merits, with the productions of more modern and retired students; but, when considered as the incidental products of a practical and apostolic course, and especially as the key to that single and sublime philosophy, by which every action in that course was harmonized and ordered, we cannot wish them other than they are; and least of all can we regret the absence of metaphysical niceties or fancies. What Mr. Taylor repeatedly alludes to as a defect in Wesley, might, with equal reason, be mentioned with concern by the biographer of Marlborough or Wellington. Studies purely literary and abstract were foreign, not so much to the nature, as to the purpose, of our reformer; and such *dilettantisms* could never have consisted with so hardy and so useful a career. When he took the world for his parish, and determined to know and to preach nothing but the cross of Christ, he put aside, as an encumbrance, not only all vain philosophy, but every kind of learning and accomplishment which would not readily subserve his one design. But that rule implied exceptions; and chief among those exceptions was that of logic. This exception is characteristic, not more of the mental structure, than the moral earnestness, of Wesley. As logic is the instrument by which great truths are defended, and their relations and consequences proved, it was natural to expect that the controversial writings of Wesley should exhibit more of this faculty than any other; but is there no "philosophy," and that, too, of a very high, and catholic, and spiritual kind, which supplies the first principles of a career so useful and consistent, and harmonizes into one great system the laws so promptly recognised in every act of such a life? The philosophy of John Wesley is seen, as already intimated, not merely or chiefly in his written books, but in his living works; in the multitude of poor outcasts attracted by his zeal, and instructed by his scriptural ministrations; in the Societies formed by his wisdom and trained by his example; in the Churches founded by his agency or influence in all parts of the world. Herein is the substance of a true philosophy, destined to engage the critics and historians of a future age. The motives that urged to Wesley's extraordi-

nary labours, and the immense results which followed them, are surely neither fortuitous nor inconsecutive: the latter are profoundly represented in the former,—in principles deliberately recognised by his religious consciousness, heartily and prayerfully adopted by his devoted zeal, and thoroughly harmonized and blessed by the energy of spiritual laws and the consenting providence of God. That Wesley made no distinction between philosophy, eminently and properly so called, and the system most plainly deducible from the facts and precepts of the Bible; that he allowed the supernal truths of Christianity to supersede in him, and to bring to nought, all lesser, feebler, and more imperfect systems of morality, as the rod of Aaron swallowed up the rods of the Egyptian *Magi*;—may be regarded as grave objections by certain teachers of the present day, French, English, American, and German. But is Mr. Taylor of the number? Are there two prime rules of right, two sources of moral authority?—is there any clear fountain of spiritual truth, but the revelation of God?

So patent is this adaptation (both natural and determined) of Wesley's mind to the accomplishment of Wesley's work, that it is sometimes forced upon Mr. Taylor himself, who acknowledges (at p. 24) that "this intellectual characteristic is not to be spoken of with regret." Then why recur so frequently to the absence of a faculty of very secondary or doubtful merit, and particularly in a case where its presence would have been an absolute blemish and hinderance? To say the least, it is an intrusion so irrelevant as to mar very seriously the clearness and interest of this performance, whether considered as a personal portraiture of Wesley, or as a thoughtful estimate of the normal principles of Methodism.

But there is an ulterior purpose in this depreciation. It is intended to suggest and encourage the idea of essential weakness in the structure of Wesleyan Methodism, and great defectiveness in its system of theology. But here again the inconsistency already noticed very strikingly appears, and defeats the purpose. The administrative genius of Wesley is just that which Mr. Taylor himself allows, and the prosperity and permanence of Wesley's institute supply a much better and more convincing proof of the sagacity and wisdom of its Founder, than even this liberal admission on his part; while, as to the peculiar doctrines of Methodism, this at least is in favour of their profound and scriptural truth,—that they not only found a response in the hearts of the people, but brought forth—again with Mr. Taylor's admission—all the fruits and graces of the Christian character.

Mr. Taylor is continually annoyed by a recollection of Wesley's evangelical Arminianism, especially in connexion with the wide success of his ministerial labours. He seems to regard, with something like contempt, that body of doctrinal teaching which, if he better understood it, he would not stigmatize as forming a "crude theology." We are quite at a loss to know

Mr. Taylor's requirements for a perfect theological system, except that "system it must not be at all, nor its language any thing so poor as theological." This is not unlike the teaching of Mr. Theodore Parker, who repudiates dogmatic theology altogether. Again, Mr. Wesley's preaching was "clear of Calvinistic fanaticism and bad taste," and yet "carried with it, in the view of thoughtful men, the undiminished load of its difficulties. Lighten this load at all, and Methodism could not have spread, and would not have been." We should like Mr. Taylor to have been more explicit here. The *difficulties* of religion (as infidels conceive) are common both to the Calvinist and the Arminian creed; but not so the *inconsistencies*, which in the former are manifest and insurmountable. Besides, was every effect due to the preaching of natural depravity, also common to both parties, and none to the doctrine of free grace? "The unmitigated fact that reprobation assumes, Wesley also assumes." Pray, what fact? Reprobation is not peculiar in assuming the eternal punishment of sin, but for tracing back the cause, both of sin and of its punishment, to the unalterable decrees of God. Mr. Taylor's views on the doctrine of election—we cannot gather precisely what they are, but only what they are *not*—lead him into frequent inconsistencies. He represents Whitefield as advancing "beyond his friend's position by the genuineness and simplicity of his Christian instincts." Were not, then, Wesley's instincts genuine and simple? Mr. Knox, and even Mr. Taylor himself in other places, have assured us that they were. At any rate, this will not express the cause of the difference in opinion between these good men, regarding elective grace. Is it not more in harmony with the truth to say, that Whitefield's Christian instincts, by reason of their genuineness and simplicity, transcended the dark and narrow limits of Genevan doctrine, and forced him to the proclamation of a free Gospel? With respect to Wesley, his earnest and successful ministry was in admirable keeping with his doctrinal teaching; for both illustrated alike the doctrine of divine influence in concurrence with human operation. Practically, these great Preachers were at one in the substance as well as power of their ministrations; but to Whitefield only might the hearer make retort, "You charge a helpless sinner with obstinacy for not forcing himself into a covenant which was not intended for his benefit, and transform the effect of sovereign purposes into a crime that aggravates the sinner's fate."

Mr. Taylor has much sympathy with, and admiration for, the evangelical mission of Methodism; but he has no patience with the pretensions of the Wesleyan Societies to form in combination a distinctive Church, in which the services and sacraments of primitive Christianity are duly administered to members gathered out of the world, and the ministry of a pure word and doctrine is afforded to the flock of Christ. He does not seem so much to

doubt whether they be, as whether they *ought* to be, susceptible of independent Church-fellowship. Some of Mr. Taylor's minor exceptions we can partly make out; but his grand and cardinal objection, founded, we suppose, upon his own peculiar Church-idea, we cannot understand; nor does he seem to think his reader entitled to appreciate his meaning. "When we have affirmed," says he, "once and again in these pages, that Wesley did not construct a CHURCH,—a main part of what we mean finds its interpretation at this point: Methodism was a proclamation of the Gospel, lasting its season, and doing its work: *Wesleyan* Methodism was an economy well adapted to the purpose of sustaining that aggressive movement, after the impulse in which it originated should have subsided. But when it comes to be considered as a permanent system of religious discipline, as toward the people, it presents itself under an aspect far too special, and, one might say, too well adapted to the rude masses with which chiefly it has been conversant, to be entitled to the praise implied, if we were to call it a Church. If the rejoinder should come in the form of an animated question, 'Where then is *your* Church?'—this is a question to which we are not bound, in this place, to supply an answer." Now, Mr. Taylor is not bound to answer this very reasonable question, only because he is not bound to write intelligibly; and in this sense, indeed, he was not *bound* to write at all upon the subject. He has taken, however, a sure way to make his objection unanswerable, perhaps because it was the only way to insure its being so. Till we know what Mr. Taylor desiderates in a Christian Church, we cannot tell upon what principle Wesleyan Methodism is by him refused "the praise implied" by such a designation. What makes this conduct more perplexing, is the fact, that the only theory which seems to oppose insuperable objections to such a recognition of Wesleyanism,—namely, that of the apostolical succession as held by High-Church members of the Establishment,—is just that which Mr. Taylor seems to have given up as untenable; "for it," says he, "must either break itself upon Methodism, or must consign Methodism and its millions of souls to perdition, in as peremptory a manner as that in which the Church of Rome fixes its anathema upon heretical nations." We cannot doubt to which of these alternatives Mr. Taylor holds. His "Christian instincts," if not his preconceived ideas, must restrain him from a conclusion that is both monstrous and absurd. But if early Methodism was "a proclamation of the Gospel" to those who were hitherto uncared for, wherein is the economy of *Wesleyan* Methodism deficient, in its attempt to provide for the spiritual necessities of those whom it has been instrumental in gathering out of the world? Its "aspect," we are told, is "too special towards the people." This is a curious phrase, that would probably have been felicitous, if it had not stopped short of being intelligible. Does our author mean that too much care is taken

of the poor of Christ's flock? or, is it a fatal sign, that any Church should *have* so many poor? In either of these cases, we are compelled to differ widely from Mr. Taylor. But if he would insinuate,—what he certainly does not assert,—that the pastoral duties and religious privileges of a Christian Church are not duly administered or provided by the Wesleyan economy, he betrays small acquaintance with, or little candour towards, the communion of which he so confidently speaks. To say that Wesley did not design to construct a Church, is only to add another testimony to his purely evangelical motives; but, more than this, it necessarily refers to a far higher origin, what our author is at some pains in another place to disparage, as being merely human and temporary. Grant, then, that what Wesley conscientiously *proposed*, the providence of God otherwise, but yet more graciously, *disposed*,—largely employing its servant's gifts of industry and zeal and wisdom, but taking the event out of his hands, going far beyond the limits of one man's mortal powers, and bringing, by successive and appropriate agencies, a society of true believers to exercise the independent action of a church-community. Of a lineage such as this no Christian body has need to be ashamed. Born within the pale of the national reformed Church, but pastured in forbidden fields, which Heaven yet deigned to bless and fertilize, Methodism became gradually isolated in position, but never alienated in affection, from the fold of her birth. And, pure from the taint of ambitious hands, it is not unwarrantable to suppose, that the means which human piety and wisdom have devised for the furtherance of this evangelical mission, may be still seconded by the divine blessing, and supplemented, as heretofore, by the timely providence of God. Thus Christ is the Author and Head of this as well as of every other section of his Church; and if, for convenience' sake, it is sometimes called by a human name, no candid person will be offended or alarmed by this circumstance. A name is but a necessary expedient; and Mr. Taylor might as well argue that a local name (as that of the Church of England) forbids the notion of catholicity, as that a human one debars a church so designated from divine adoption and permanent success.

How little Mr. Taylor was justified in his more vague and general condemnation of the Wesleyan system, may be inferred from his remarks on one of its characteristic features. On the subject of class and band-meetings, he is full of contradictions. They offend his fastidious prejudices, yet evidently commend themselves to his Christian judgment. He cannot but esteem them of "ambiguous tendency," yet is of opinion that "the actual mischiefs resulting from them are probably much less than theoretically they would seem likely to produce." So it is, that our author's theories are continually rebuked by the irresistible evidence of facts. But, after this admission, betokening an evident misgiving of his former prejudice, with strange incon-

sistency he speaks of Wesley's acting in this manner, in terms worthy of Bishop Lavington himself. "What could he imagine would be the consequence of instructing his Class-Leaders to demand of each member an unreserved exposure of a week's sins and temptations? What is it that could be the product of such disgorgements, when each was solemnly enjoined, with a remorseless disregard of delicacy, of reserve, of diffidence, to pour forth, before all, the moral evils of the past seven days? May there not be some ground for the alleged comparative harmlessness of auricular confession?" Mr. Taylor is fond of the interrogative style, perhaps because it seems to commit him to no positive censure, where he is doubtful whether praise would not be the more appropriate language. It is the manner of those who prefer to "hint a fault, and hesitate dislike." But, in deference to his literary character, let us humbly imitate him in this particular, and ask, Are the hearts of believers, then, so foul, that, like thieves in a gaol, their mutual confessions form only a budget of depravity and vice, in which each succeeding speaker so far improves and heightens the relation, as to shock the comparative modesty of those that went before? And was it so in the ancient Church, when "they that feared the Lord spake often one with another," or in the primitive Church, when Christians were required to "confess their faults one to another, and to pray one for another, that they might be healed?" And was this the edifying practice that Bishop Taylor—that eminent Prelate of the English Church—recommended in his treatise of "Holy Living," "that he who would preserve his humility, should choose some spiritual person to whom he shall oblige himself *to discover his very thoughts and fancies, every act of his, and all his intercourse with others, in which there is danger?*" And, for the bugbear of Romish auricular confession, by which is it more nearly approached,—the Methodist custom of six or more meeting for mutual improvement in spiritual things, or this church-counsel of *one unbosoming to one only?* We think Mr. Taylor has not made sufficient use of his knowledge, either of scripture-precept, or catholic practice. If he had candidly examined the principles and customs of Wesleyan Methodism by these standards,—which are, nevertheless, of very different value and authority,—he would have found very little either of novelty or danger in that system of church-fellowship, and nothing to warrant his anticipation of its speedy dissolution.

Mr. Taylor's volume closes with a section, entitled "The Methodism of the Future;" but we will not be so unjust as to criticize what we so little understand,—for, though we might plead his own example for the practice, we must, in such case, have only his indifferent success for our reward, and that would not content us. The obscurity of this section is due, perhaps, in part, to its prophetic object, and, in part, to its transcendental manner. The only impression we gather from it, is not favour-

able to Mr. Taylor's prospective view ; for it does not seem that the most plain and powerful truths of Christianity are (in his opinion) to be most operative in the coming Methodism ; and the world's hope, as we think, rests still on them.

We have left ourselves but little room to speak of the last book on our list. Small as the volume is, it is the production of two authors ; and merits, on more accounts than one, a notice disproportioned to its size. The first essay, entitled "Wesley the Worthy," is by Dr. Dobbin, of Hull ; and the second, called "Wesley the Catholic," by the Rev. Charles Adams, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. The former, we believe, has no lineal connexion with the personal labours of Wesley ; but it is evident, that he has drunk largely into his religious spirit, and deems him unrivalled as an evangelical reformer. Dr. Dobbin speaks with the earnestness, not of a partisan, but of a kindred soul ; he has caught a glimpse of one who comes very near to his ideal of moral greatness, and kindles in its contemplation. His eloquence is likely to infect the reader with a like wholesome admiration. We believe there is profound truth in this generous recognition. All intellectual attributes aside, the greatness of John Wesley was a *moral greatness* ; and, in this sublime particular, we know not if he ever had an equal. An *indomitable will* and *unbounded benevolence* : these are the diagnostic characters of the highest type of man ; and these, as Dr. Dobbin finds, are more strongly marked and more thoroughly developed in John Wesley, than in any creature of whom we have a record. And what were the results of the sustained and well-directed labours of this man ? Our author tells us in few words. "There were no Bible, Tract, or Missionary Societies then, to employ the Church's powers, and indicate its path of duty. But Wesley started them all. He wrote, and printed, and circulated books, in thousands upon thousands of copies. He set afloat home and foreign missions. The Church and the world were alike asleep ; he sounded the loud trumpet of the Gospel ; and awoke the world to tremble, and the Church to work. Never was such a scene before in this land. The correctness and maturity of his views amid the deep darkness surrounding him is startling, wonderful ; like the idea of a catholic Church springing up amid a sectarian Judaism. It is mid-day without the antecedent dawn ; it beggars thought ; it defies explanation."

The other essay included in this little volume is contributed by American Methodism to the just memory of its venerated English Founder. What the United States are to Great Britain, such is the Methodist Church in America to the parent Society in this country,—independent in action, but identical in origin, animated by the same great principles, and honouring alike a thousand beautiful traditions. And in this paper of Mr. Adams we have both an interesting example of catholicity, and a testimony to the catholicity of Wesley. This is the feature, per-

haps, most characteristic of his long career : he was emphatically "*the friend of all, the enemy of none.*" No reformer that the world ever saw so remarkably united faithfulness to the essential doctrines of revelation, with charity towards men of every church and creed. And it is to this principle of true religion that his Transatlantic follower now appeals. "Needs there not the mighty shower to gladden and refresh the multitudes, urging us, if we have wandered, back to the original, the true position and action, and calling us again to the childlike simplicity, the undying zeal, the all-abounding love of Wesley the Catholic?" Is it not something like this that we should look for in the *Methodism of the Future?*

ART. III.—*Memorandums in Ireland, in the Autumn of 1852.* By JOHN FORBES, M.D., F.R.S., &c., &c., &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

"IRELAND is England's difficulty." How frequently is this phrase repeated! and yet how few persons possess adequate ideas of its real import! "England's difficulty!" What difficulties have ever arisen, that England has not surmounted,—conquered? Look at her career for centuries back,—look at her history ever since the Norman Conquest,—and what does it present to us, but one unbroken series of difficulties, foreign and domestic, appearing but to vanish; of progress, opposed, but ever onward; of prosperity, often threatened, but never seriously retarded? Surrounded by hostile nations, jealous of her success whilst deprecating her power, she has steadily advanced in political, commercial, and territorial greatness; in arts, science, and literature; in wealth, liberty, and social happiness; until she stands before the wondering world a unique example of what a small nation can effect, where truth and justice in principle are united with perseverance and industry in action.

And yet, with all this successful career, this ever-onward progress in national greatness, England unquestionably has a "difficulty," which has for centuries baffled the wisdom and justice, as well as the craft and injustice, of her rulers; constituting a problem which her ablest senators have been unable to solve, and which has broken up more administrations, and stultified more Acts of Parliament, than all the rest of the possessions of the Crown. That "difficulty" is Ireland; which, like a diseased limb, if it has not affected the healthy action of the rest of the body politic, has hung listlessly at her side; defying all her skill to heal, but ever present to annoy and perplex with the consciousness of its weakness and inefficiency. Subject to, and pro-

ted by, the same Government and laws, and enjoying equal and even superior natural advantages, her condition, as compared with the rest of the Empire, is a strange anomaly to the philosopher, the statesman, the moralist; by whom a succession of remedial theories have been proposed, all alike unavailable for any efficient practical purpose.

Neither has there been any want of endeavours to account for this anomalous state of things; for almost all the writers on Ireland, from Sir William Petty down to Sir Francis Head, have propounded their opinions on the subject. Many of these authors, however, have done little more than betray their scanty knowledge of Irish history and Irish society; and, consequently, have so confounded causes and effects, as to treat as primary what are derivative evils, although arising out of causes so remote as to escape common observation.

Dr. Forbes has followed the common practice of travellers, in giving his opinion upon the origin of the "difficulty;" nor has he shrunk from proposing a remedy. It were to be wished that, before he had done this, in so abstruse a question, he had taken more time to study the people of whom he writes, upon the spot; for it is impossible, without such actual inspection, to understand that very peculiar nation. We speak from a personal knowledge of the subject when we state, that in many instances our author has both mistaken and mis-stated important traits of character; has drawn his conclusions from erroneous data; and has finally proposed a remedy which, if adopted, would infinitely aggravate the disease; and which betrays a worse than latitudinarian spirit, on the one absorbing question which for so long a period has distracted the public mind in Ireland.

In no country of Europe,—perhaps in the whole world,—is the construction of society so intricate and difficult to be understood by a stranger, as in Ireland. We will go further, and say, that books cannot teach it; and that nothing but a residence in the country, with eyes and ears open, *and mouth shut*, will enable a person to arrive at the real condition of society. What, then, can we expect from a writer who, having taken a swallow's flight over the island,—so hastily, indeed, as scarcely to afford time to visit its thousand natural beauties,—conversing with an old woman here, and a priest there,—the latter appearing to have wonderfully taken his fancy,—jumps to conclusions upon this *coup d'œil* view of a society, the more important, though minute, characteristics of which frequently lie too deep for even the best-informed to reach? No! The case of Ireland requires a personal, intelligent, and impartial application of the mind to the construction of society, to the course of events indicative of national character, and, above all, to her former history. Without opportunity for this, a man might almost as well pronounce his opinion upon the inhabitants of the moon, after viewing her disc through Rosse's telescope, as dogmatize upon the condition of the

Irish people, from what he can gather during a two months' tour. It is for want of this practical knowledge, that so many blunders in legislation have been committed, which, in fact, have perpetuated those evils, which, by a wise and intelligent course of action, might long since have been abated, if not wholly remedied.

In regard to our author, it would almost appear to us that he has, in this work, presented us with a statement of foregone conclusions, and that his journey was undertaken either to confirm or to give a colour to them. However this may be, we consider those conclusions so erroneous, and so little justified by the real state of things, that we feel bound, so far as in us lies, to counteract their influence. And, in pursuance of this design, we shall at once commence our strictures on the work by a review of the fifteenth and last chapter, which comprises a summary of the writer's opinion on the past, present, and future of Ireland.

The subject is introduced by some general observations: "1. On the question of race and blood; 2. On the condition of Ireland relatively to England and other countries; and, 3. On the mode in which the relief or cure of the evils of Ireland—supposing their existence ascertained—should be attempted."

With regard to the first of these,—the question of race and blood,—we fully agree with the author that, as between Celt and Saxon, there is no structural or ethnological reason why the one should be inferior to the other in mental or moral development, under precisely similar circumstances; and that, if the Celtic population of Ireland have exhibited a less determined tendency to advance in progressive civilization, it is from other causes than those of race and blood. In proof of this, we find that Irishmen *out of Ireland* are a different class of men from what they are at home. We see instances every day of our lives, in the conduct of those Irish who emigrate to England and America, and the Australian Colonies. No sooner does the Irishman come into fair competition with the Anglo-Saxon, than he becomes another man. The once inert, unprogressive semi-barbarian, obstinately wedded to ancient customs, and resolutely abjuring all modern "innovations," as they term improvements, is suddenly converted into an active, enterprising, and industrious citizen; and that, not in isolated instances, but in large numbers, and under widely different degrees of physical advantage.

Other causes must, therefore, be found for this stagnation in social life; and Dr. Forbes has (at p. 366) given quotations from two works,—Hay's "Social Condition of the People," and Mill's "Principles of Political Economy;" the former of which works ascribes it to the oppression of the Catholic Priesthood by the Government, and by absenteeism; and the latter, to that of the people by the landlords. These, however, are but derivative evils, growing out of radical causes, lying deep in the very constitution of society. The oppression, as it is called, of the Romish Priesthood was the result of that rebellious spirit which

they have formerly evinced against a Protestant Government, and which could only be kept down by the strong arm of power. A religion like that of Romanism, partaking as much of temporal as of spiritual dominion, and which neither will nor can ever be satisfied without ascendancy in both, can only be dealt with by the secular power. Many of the more honest of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland make no scruple of avowing, that they "never will rest satisfied or quiet until they obtain their own;" and we have reason to believe that they all entertain the same sentiments, and are incessantly working to bring about their object. We do not charge them with any inconsistency in this, it being in strict accordance with their principles to uphold, promote, and establish what they consider *ought* to be the universal dominion of the Bishop of Rome. But if Protestantism be true, and the Reformation a blessing, and both have an antagonistic power to cope with, which admits not the existence of a rival, and which scruples not to use all means, carnal and spiritual, direct and indirect, open and secret, not merely to obtain ascendancy, but utterly to crush and annihilate every opponent; by what means, we ask, can such a power be met but by the secular arm of the law? We appeal to all history, ancient and modern,—we appeal to the analogous state of Italy and other Catholic countries at the present moment,—whether this was not, to the letter, the case as between Romanism and Protestantism, in the United Kingdom generally, and in Ireland especially? If, therefore, penal laws were at one time enacted, it was to meet the exigencies of the period, and to curb, not a merely spiritual power, but a religion which invariably, when it could, united the cross and the sword, and employed the secular power to enforce its spiritual domination.

These laws, however, no longer exist; and we rejoice that they have become unnecessary, not from the changed character of the Roman Catholic religion, or of the sinister designs of its Hierarchy, but from the utter inability of the latter to overturn or seriously disturb the peace of the country. We may, however, judge from their movements what might be expected from them, should an inscrutable Providence again allow them to obtain the ascendancy.

With respect to the oppression of the landlords, it is the effect of that craving passion for the possession of land, which, in the absence of manufactures, pervades the whole mass of the rural population. *All* want to be occupiers of land; hence the system of middlemen, by whom it is subdivided: and the extravagant rents obtained are but the natural consequence of the competition to which the small holdings are subjected; the aim of the middleman being to make as much money as possible during his lease. This pernicious system, however, in consequence of the famine, and the operations of the Encumbered Estates Court, aided by the extensive emigration, is fast declining; and we

may hope soon to see the landed property of Ireland placed upon a more healthy and beneficial footing than hitherto. Still, until manufactures become extended, and the mining riches of the country are explored and worked, there will be no other industrial resource for the country people than agriculture; and whether as labourers or as occupiers, or in these capacities united, their condition must be a depressed one, subjecting them to the overwhelming influence of those above them in social rank, who will not fail to take every advantage their position gives them.

The second observation, on the condition of Ireland "as compared with that of other countries, particularly England," may be more easily disposed of. We have no doubt whatever that, on the average, there may be as great an amount of human suffering amongst the poor of England as amongst those of Ireland. Such is the artificial state of society here, that this must necessarily be the case; but to compare the condition of the Irish peasantry with that of England in social comfort, is simply absurd. "Where ignorance is bliss, 't is folly to be wise." And if the Irish occupier of a shealing, built against a bank with loose stones, admitting the wind and rain at every crevice, containing in the same room men, women, and children, fowls, pigs, and cattle, all partaking of the same fare,—potatoes, and all sharing the same bed,—straw; if such a man, we say, is happy, or rather doggedly contented with his lot, it is because he never expects anything better. Such was the condition of his father and grandfather before him; and, like them, all his anxiety is to be able to hold his cabin and "bit of land" against the landlord, and to make the potatoes hold out the season. To make up his rent, he goes at hay-time to England, where for two or three months he works like a Negro, living on the coarsest and most scanty fare, begging at every favourable opportunity, and never spending a farthing beyond what his most pressing wants require. His wife and children at home, in the mean time, exist on the potatoes as long as they last, and beg amongst the neighbours, if they fall short; and such is the sympathy arising from a community of suffering, that no poor person in Ireland needs be either ashamed to beg, or afraid of a refusal. In this respect we will do the Irish poor the justice to say, that they will, at any time, share the last crust or the last potato with the way-side wanderer who is worse off than themselves. Dr. Forbes admits, it is true, that the condition of the English agricultural labourer is not "*quite* so low as this." Indeed it is not! There is the difference between wages at from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per day, and wages at from 3½d. to 6d., which, before the drain upon the population, was a common rate in the remote districts of Ireland. We knew an instance of a gentleman who hired a hundred able-bodied labourers at 3½d. per day. This was four or five years back; but we have known cases, within the last year, of such

men offering to work at 4*d.* per day. Now we say, that in no part of England, and at no period within the memory of man, have such wages been accepted or offered. The question of wages, however, is now righting itself in Ireland also, the emigrant drain upon the population having so reduced the amount of labour-power, that an advance was inevitable; and, in some districts, from 10*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* is now obtained. The benefit, indeed, of the "Exodus" must necessarily be great to those who remain in the country; and, coupled with other causes now in operation, will soon render the condition of the labouring classes in Ireland much more comfortable.

But is Dr. Forbes aware, that this apparent poverty and wretchedness of the Irish cottier is frequently assumed, in order to hide from the landlord or his agent his ability to pay his rent, or for the purpose of exciting sympathy and obtaining relief? We could give numerous instances of both, but one of each shall suffice. At the time when the Clonmel Savings'-Bank failed, through the villany of some of its functionaries and the carelessness of its Trustees, there were several farmers who, having fallen into arrears of rent for some years, had thrown up their holdings, and gone into the Workhouse. Upon the breaking of the Bank, it was discovered that these men were depositors to the amount of from £300 to £800, which they had accumulated by defrauding the landlord of four or five years' rent, and had deposited the plunder in the bank in various names, the rules of the Institution prohibiting the investment of more than a certain sum for each depositor. Again: a friend of ours was crossing from Liverpool in a steamer, when he and some other gentlemen were accosted by a wretched-looking man, a deck passenger, who earnestly begged a "thrifle to help him home to his wife and the childer," when he reached Dublin. Struck by the bundle of rags that stood with tattered hat in hand before them, they retired, and made up a decent suit for him out of their own wardrobes; and, beckoning him to the fore-part of the ship, they told him to strip, and array himself in this (to him) new suit. This he quickly effected, at the same time carefully doubling up the rags, and laying them in a heap on the deck. One of the gentlemen, thinking that they would probably infest the deck with vermin, tossed them overboard with the end of his stick. Catching a glance of his rags as they flew over the bulwarks, the man began stamping with rage, declaring that he was a ruined man, for *there was more than £20 in the pockets!* A boat was instantly lowered, and the precious garments recovered; and, to the astonishment and chagrin of his benefactors, he drew forth a bundle of notes to the amount of £25.

In either of these respects, certainly, the condition, as well as the practice, of the Irish cottier is widely different from that of the English labourer. The latter would scorn either to have recourse to the Union-house, to beg, or to appear in rags, whilst

he had a shilling in his pocket to procure the necessaries of food and clothing.

The third general observation relates to the cure of Ireland's diseases; and our author, being a physician, and treating the subject in a professional way, assumes, first, that those diseases are chronic, and then recommends ("analogically") that they should be treated "*on the principles of the natural, rational, or regiminal system of cure*," as the only one likely to lead to satisfactory results. How far this State-physician (in more senses than one) is qualified to deal with State-diseases, we shall be able to show in the sequel.

We now come to notice the special observations of our author, which he has arranged under the following heads; namely,—

- I. OVER-POPULATION.
- II. THE COTTIER SYSTEM.
- III. ABSENTEEISM.
- IV. WANT OF A MIDDLE CLASS.
- V. OFFICIAL PARTIALITY.
- VI. WANT OF CAPITAL.
- VII. WANT OF ENTERPRISE.
- VIII. WANT OF EDUCATION.
- IX. TENANT-RIGHT.
- X. PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY.

I. With regard to OVER-POPULATION, it is in a fair way of becoming a mere matter of history; the "Exodus" being on the eve of turning the scale, and producing a scarcity, in the place of a redundancy, of labour. But even the former excess was but a conditional evil, arising from the want of those industrial employments which absorb the teeming thousands of the sister kingdom. In this respect, whilst England and Scotland have rapidly advanced, Ireland has retrograded; and as her population has multiplied, her manufactures have declined. The silk trade of Dublin, for instance, which a few years ago employed six thousand hands, does not now employ more than two or three hundred. Many of the country towns, also, which formerly possessed flourishing woollen manufactures, are now wholly destitute of them. Even in Dublin, within the last ten years, some important branches of manufacture have become wholly extinct. It was, therefore, the want of manufactures that rendered Ireland over-populous. Agriculture, even with that minute subdivision of the land which prevailed previous to the famine, could only employ a certain number of hands profitably; and the surplus of labour thrown upon the market by the rapid increase of the population, whilst it lowered wages to the *minimum*, diminished, at the same time, the amount of labour individually performed, and rendered the labourer inert and indolent, and sturdily resolved to do no more work than he was compelled to do. It would be absurd to suppose, or expect, that a man either could or would do as much work for 4*d.* or 6*d.* per day,

as for 1s. 6d. or 2s.; and Paddy is no exception to this general rule.

Our author ascribes the want of manufactures to the ill name Ireland has acquired for turbulence, and disregard of life and property. There is no doubt but this has prevented English manufacturers from settling there, where the immense water-power, in all directions, offers such facilities. But the cause of the decline of the *native* manufacturers, was the terrible efficiency (for evil) of the Trades' Union, which rendered it impossible for a master manufacturer, *whatever might be his means*, to compete with those of England. Had we room, we could prove this by the most indisputable evidence,—that obtained on the spot by the Government Commissioner, Mr. Otway, as well as by facts that have come under our own notice; and we have reason to believe, that the same evil combination which has broken up so many manufacturing establishments in Dublin, and other parts of Ireland, and driven the operatives out of the country, is still powerful enough to prevent the extension of manufactures in any portion of Ireland, except the north, where a better feeling prevails.

II. THE COTTIER SYSTEM.—Dr. Forbes' remarks on the evils of this system (p. 375) are very just. To it may be ascribed a large portion of the miseries that have come upon the country during the last seven or eight years, and, in a less degree, previously; and we cordially rejoice with him in the prospect of its extinction. The condition of the English labourer is infinitely better than that of the Irish cottier, both in regard to moral and physical comfort; and happy indeed will be the latter, when the course of events, now being gradually developed, shall have placed him in a similar position, giving him "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work."

But we cannot reconcile our author's condemnation of the cottier system, just referred to, with his strong recommendation of the continental system of the subdivision of the land. (Pp. 378–381.) We are no friends to feudalism, and we advocate the advancement of the labourer in his social and physical condition. But the question is,—Are the small occupiers in France and Prussia better off in this respect than the labourers of England, and have they a better prospect, or better means, of providing for a family? We believe not; for, unless the accounts of intelligent travellers are incorrect, the small farmers of France and Prussia are in the most abject state of poverty; unable properly to cultivate the land, and deriving from it the most scanty subsistence. Undoubtedly, the condition of the English labourer is not what it ought to be, or, we firmly believe, soon will be. For half a century the legislation of the country seems to have been so framed, as to crush the working class by oppression, and to reduce their moral and physical condition to the lowest point of human endurance. The impolicy, however, of this course has long been

seen by the country, and the Legislature will be compelled, by degrees, to yield to the public voice, and place the working classes of England and Ireland in that social position, to which their growing intelligence and relative importance entitle them.

III. ABSENTEEISM.—This is only a relative evil,—felt severely in Ireland, it is true, because the country is poor. In England it is no evil; or, if one, not felt, because the country is rich and can bear it. Besides, her wealth brings a large influx of foreigners to balance the loss of the absentees; consequently, the evils and benefit are reciprocal. Absenteeism, however, is a very old disease in Ireland; and, taking the difference in the value of money into account, has rather decreased than otherwise during the last hundred years; and the operations of the Encumbered Estates Court are fast remedying the evil, by dispossessing those who are absentees from necessity, and substituting a new, though a smaller, proprietary, who will mostly reside on their purchases.

IV. THE WANT OF A MIDDLE CLASS.—We fully agree with our author, that this want is strongly felt in Ireland; nor can the condition of the labouring class be much improved until that want is supplied. This, in fact, is now in a train of accomplishment, both by the determination of the larger land-owners to destroy the cottier-system and consolidate their farms, and by the division and sale of the large estates in the Encumbered Estates Court; which, conjointly, have already introduced a vast number of the very class wanted, whose object being to improve their new purchases or holdings, there will thus be furnished an abundance of employment for the labouring population.

Dr. Forbes, however, is wrong in supposing either that the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland (until recently) were poor, or that the Protestant Clergy are not active and energetic. From our own knowledge of the latter, we believe that the present body of the Established Clergy in Ireland are an excellent and efficient one, and that they are far before that of England in Evangelical principles and personal piety. Their influence, however, amongst a Catholic population must, of necessity, be limited; but we believe it to be greatly on the increase, owing to circumstances during the famine, which placed them in favourable contrast with the Catholic Clergy. And, with regard to the latter, until the famine, and its consequences, and emigration, had thinned the ranks of their supporters, there was scarcely a Roman Catholic parish Priest that had a less income than three hundred a-year, and a large majority of them enjoyed a much greater. What their "example and influence" have effected, we may judge by the general condition of the country, rather than by the results of Dr. Forbes' hasty tour, recorded in his "Memorandums." But more of this presently.

V. OFFICIAL PARTIALITY, OR POLITICAL FAVOURITISM.—We believe that formerly this system was carried to a great extent, so as to exclude the Irish from all participation in the

emoluments of public office. But we know that the evil exists no longer, and that an efficient Irishman is as eligible to an office now, as an Englishman or Scotchman. In proof of this we give the following statement of the clerks, &c., employed in the Public Offices in Dublin.

OFFICE OF PUBLIC WORKS.

English.....	9
Scotch	4
Welsh	1
Irish	82

—
96

PAYMASTER'S OFFICE.

English.....	6
Scotch	1
Irish	15

—
22

In the Poor-Law Department a large staff is employed, nearly, if not quite, all of whom are Irish; and the same may be said of the Office of Customs and Excise. In the Government Offices, also, in London, although we have not succeeded in obtaining the exact relative numbers, we have reason to believe that a full complement of Irish are employed. In the Copyhold and Tythe Commission and Surveying Department the relative numbers are:—

English.....	14
Scotch	1
Irish	7

—
22

So that, even in England, the full proportion of Irish are employed; and whatever jobbing may still be practised at headquarters, it certainly, of late, has been as much in favour of Ireland as of the sister kingdom.

VI. WANT OF CAPITAL.—This is a bugbear that has long constituted an apology for want of energy and enterprise. It has been well exposed and exploded by Sir Robert Kane in his work on the "Industrial Resources of Ireland." The fact is, there is no want of capital, as is proved by the large sums continually invested in permanent securities, amounting to several millions annually; whilst the circulating capital does not amount to more than four and a half millions for the whole country! This shows that there is capital enough, and that what is wanting is enterprise, to render it reproductive and beneficial to the country. We will give but one instance in illustration of this charge. It is well known that Dublin Bay, and the adjoining coasts, abound with herrings, mackerel, cod, turbot, and other fish, all the year round. About 200 boats take to the

amount of about £60,000 *per annum*; and who is it that furnishes these boats? "The Dublin capitalists," you will, doubtless, suppose. *Not one of them!* They are all furnished by Cornish tradesmen, who build and fit out the craft, find capital, put the crews into them, and receive their portion of the profits, which, doubtless, are very considerable, or the system would not be continued. It is true, they frequently hire Dublin men to assist them in their operations; but none of the boats are found by Dublin owners, and that city itself is, in part, supplied with fish by the Cornish fishermen. What, we ask, is to prevent the Dublin tradesmen, or capitalists, from pursuing this branch of commerce, but that want of enterprise which has all along been the bane of Ireland? There is also, and always has been, a general dislike of commerce, and a disinclination to pursue it. Whilst in England even noblemen and men of fortune have not thought it beneath them to invest large sums in mercantile concerns, the smallest of the Irish gentry would scorn to engage himself, or to allow his sons to engage, in any commercial employment. The latter are invariably educated for some learned profession or for a military life. For the latter they are peculiarly fitted; and whilst we cannot do without soldiers and fighting, we are not disposed to cavil at their choice. But, in regard to the learned professions, this disinclination to commercial and industrial pursuits has super-saturated Ireland, and especially Dublin, with barristers, attorneys, and physicians, all eager "to do business." We now see the consequences in the necessity for the Encumbered Estates Court; there being scarcely an estate in Ireland but what is involved in litigation of some kind or other, or of which the title is not a subject of dispute.

To this contempt of commerce may also be ascribed the fewness of the instances in which a lucrative and successful concern is continued for any length of time in the same name. In England, a prosperous tradesman's ambition is, to continue extending his business until he has established a commercial reputation and a "house," to be continued in the family as an heir-loom, as long as the name exists. But such a man in Ireland, looking forward to the time when he may retire with a competence, does not dream of chaining his sons to the same oar with which he has worked his way. They are to be "gentlemen," and are, therefore, sent to Trinity College to study Law, Physic, or Divinity. And upon the retirement or death of the father, the scene of his commercial triumph is either closed, or passed into the hands of a stranger; and the capital with which it was worked, is invested in some public and permanent security, and is lost to the commercial world.

There is no doubt that the consolidation of the land into farms of a hundred acres and upwards will increase the capital of the country. These farms must be taken by men competent to work them; and thus labour will become abundant, and money will cir-

culate. But until the great body of the people of Ireland imbibe a commercial spirit, and perceive the advantage of engaging in reproductive employments;—in short, until they become disabused of that contemptible pride, which makes them look upon trade as a mean and spiritless occupation, Ireland can never be rich or prosperous. It is this, and not the want of capital, that keeps her in poverty. What capital, we would ask, had Scotland eighty years ago, when she awoke from a similar dream of imaginary dignity and gentility, and took that start in the race of commercial and agricultural industry that has even outstripped England? Poor to a proverb, but thoughtful, calculating, and *honest*, having chosen her course, she flung all her ancient prejudices to the winds; and with the help of that admirable system of banking, which it would be good policy for the grinding capitalists of Ireland to adopt, she has advanced in commercial prosperity with a rapidity unparalleled in the history of the world! What, then, is there to hinder Ireland from becoming equally prosperous, but the absurd cherishing of those national prejudices and pretensions, which are simply ridiculous in themselves, unattended, as they are, by the means for sustaining them with effect; but, in the aggregate, form a bar to her advancement in wealth and real respectability?

VII. WANT OF ENTERPRISE.—This evil is intimately connected with that of want of capital, and the same arguments and reflections apply in either case. The disposition to hoard money in a chest, or invest it in permanent security, rather than venture it in reproductive employment, arises, in some respects, from the undue value placed upon money *per se*, without reference to its use or character as a medium of exchange and a reproductive agent. This disposition, or principle, is very general in Ireland; and it is considered good policy to secure a small per-centage on their gains by investment, or even to let them lie idle, rather than risk them in trade for the sake of a greater prospective advantage. Had England or Scotland pursued the same ultra-prudential course, they would now be as poor and as destitute of capital as Ireland. We must look to the increasing intercourse between the two islands to effect a change in the people of Ireland, in this as well as other national prejudices.

VIII. WANT OF SUFFICIENT EDUCATION.—This is emphatically the *questio vexata* of Ireland at the present time; and to approach it with any degree of correct appreciation, requires an intimate knowledge of the state of religion and of parties in that country. Such are the diametrically opposite views of the two antagonistic Churches and creeds, and such is the determination of one of them, at least, to secure to themselves, if possible, the instruction of *all the youth* in their own faith, that, however impolitic it may be for the Established Clergy to stand aloof, and (as it regards the National Schools) let their opponents carry off the prize of education on their own terms, we cannot feel surprised at

it. We have already spoken of the high character, for Evangelical piety and active benevolence, of the great body of the Established Clergy in Ireland, and the importance they attach to the use of the Bible as an indispensable accompaniment in the system of education; and their conscientious rejection of any system that excludes it, is no subject of censure. We do not believe, what Dr. Forbes asserts, (vol. ii., p. 344,) that one of the causes of the opposition of the Clergy is the dread of exposing the comparative weakness, as to numbers, of the Established Church. The disproportion existing is well known by every body in Ireland, and cannot be affected by withholding the children from the schools. Neither do we believe that it is owing to their unwillingness "to mix on equal terms in the supervision of the schools with their unendowed brethren of the Catholic Church." (*Idem.*) From what we know of the Irish Clergy, we feel convinced that it is on higher, though, it may be, erroneous, grounds, that they object to the present principle of the National Schools; and that the charge of exclusiveness rests rather with the Clergy of that Church which ignores and unchristianizes those of every communion but its own.

There is no doubt but that the number of Catholics under instruction is much greater than that of Protestants; but the proportion of the instructed to the uninstructed amongst the latter, far exceeds the corresponding ratio of the former. And when it is considered that this instruction is imparted chiefly without Government aid, and is accompanied with a sound scriptural education, to which no Protestant ought to object, we cannot join with our author in condemning the Established Clergy for their conscientious scruples. If they err, it is on the right side; and we entertain a much higher opinion of them for it, than if they held, and acted upon, the sentiments expressed in the following passage:—

"It may be admitted that, in some of these relations (of social life), Protestantism has an advantage over its rival; but the amount and value of this advantage will be very differently appreciated by different parties. And to those who do not consider it as *immense*, it will appear unjustifiable to seek to obtain it at the risk of the comfort and peace of a nation which is profoundly devoted to Catholicism, proud of its peculiar doctrines, and happy in the practices they enjoin."—Vol. i., p. 258.

We avow that we are of the number of those who *do* consider the advantages of Protestantism over Popery as *immense*; and if the history and condition, past and present, of those countries (including Ireland) where the latter prevails, is duly considered, even Dr. Forbes must admit, that "in regard to the conditions of social life, to human liberty and progress, and to rational government," (*ibid.*) those advantages are as palpable as the sun at noonday, and quite important enough to justify Protest-

ants in endeavouring, *at all hazards*, to show to the people "a more excellent way."

IX. TENANT-RIGHT.—This is another subject of agitation in Ireland, and one on which so much difference of opinion exists, as to cause a great deal of ill blood amongst its advocates. Whilst some contend for the revolutionary notion, that a tenant is entitled to interminable possession of the land, at the rent it would be worth in a state of nature,—say, *1s. 6d.* per Irish acre, which would be tantamount to "fee simple and fine certain;" others would be satisfied with the possession of a long lease, and power to dispose of their interest in it, subject to the landlord's approval of the purchaser. This latter plan is advocated by our author; (vol. i., p. 122, &c.) and to us it has always appeared that nothing more is required to place the Irish tenant-farmer on a par with those of England and Scotland. Certainly, the present and past condition of the tenantry in Ireland has been any thing but fair and just; but the wild and lawless schemes of some of the reverend demagogues, both Catholic and Presbyterian, who have perambulated the country, scattering disaffection against both the Government and the landlords, cannot be too strongly deprecated.

Dr. Forbes has treated this subject in several parts of his work with that moderation and good sense which might be expected from a Scotchman. We have no doubt that the Legislature will, ere long, set this question at rest by a law that will be advantageous to both parties concerned. The landed proprietors must, by this time, be satisfied that the existing conditions between them and their tenantry are far from being satisfactory or advantageous to either; and a good measure for their adjustment, when brought before Parliament, can scarcely meet with opposition, except from those iron-handed tyrants of the soil, who are never satisfied unless they possess the uncontrolled power of crushing those whom it is their duty to protect.

Dr. Forbes gives an instance (at p. 262, of vol. ii.) of that lawless spirit which has been superinduced, in the first instance, by oppression, and, subsequently, fostered by the incendiary arguments of such itinerant declaimers as we have just referred to.

"One of our companions rents a farm of twenty-five acres, for which he pays £56 annual rent. This, he says, is more than it is worth; and the object of his present visit to the agent is, to propose a reduction of four shillings in the pound. He says, if he fails in obtaining this reduction, he will throw the farm up, and take himself *off to America with the help of the rent now due*, which, however, he is prepared to pay on the reduced scale. He does not regard such a proceeding as of the nature of a cheat, or as in any way unjust. And he met the remonstrance I made against such conduct, by saying, that, as his landlord had no formal document proving a contract, he could not detain, much less imprison, him; though it was known to everybody that he and his fathers had lived on the farm for many generations."

The same false reasoning, although unaccompanied by the same impudent avowal, is exhibited in the following passage:—

“A small farmer I met in Coleraine market told me, that he and his father and grandfather had lived on the farm, now occupied by him, for nearly a hundred years; during which time they had, among them, not only reclaimed it from being a mere bog to be a fertile soil, but had built all the houses now upon it at their own expense. He considered himself as not only liable to be removed, but as likely to be so at any time, and believed that he was fully entitled to compensation, if this should be the case. I began by reasoning with him on the ground that he and his predecessors, during the long course of time they had possessed the land, must have derived advantages from their own improvement of the soil, sufficient to cover the outlay on the houses; but he met this argument by the fact, that the landlord had deprived them, in a great measure, of these advantages, by increasing the rent in proportion to the improvements.”—Vol. ii., p. 249.

X. THE RELATIONS OF THE ENGLISH AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCHES TO THE PEOPLE AND TO ONE ANOTHER.—This is, indeed, “one of the gravest evils of Ireland,” the monster evil which either originates, aggravates, or unites with and absorbs all the rest, and of which there can be no mitigation or cessation until the one has destroyed the other. The conflict between Protestantism and Romanism is one between truth and error, in relation to the most momentous question that concerns humanity; in which both the belligerent parties have nailed their colours to the mast,—the weapons of the one being spiritual, and the other carnal:—the Protestant depending for success on the force of argument, drawn from the word of God;—and the Romanist, on the argument of force, according to the fashion of the world.

In the consideration of this question it is necessary, in the first place, to consider the composition of the two hostile Hierarchies, and their relative positions with the State under which they both exist. And this is the more necessary, in that a scheme for endowing the Roman Catholic Clergy is *certainly determined on* by the present Ministry, and is strongly advocated by Dr. Forbes, in the work under review, as the sovereign panacea for all the ills of Ireland! We should feel simply ashamed of the Protestant who can coolly propose such a plan, were it not that a sense of its monstrosity sinks all other feelings in those of contempt and indignation, at the idea of a Protestant nation being called on to patronize and endow that system which it formerly deprived of every emolument, and most justly, too, on account of its abuse of them! Was, then, the Reformation from Popery so unjust a measure, that our present Government cannot longer bear to reflect upon it? Or, is the difference between truth and error of so little account that we may safely support both? Or, is it not rather the apprehension that, if they do not throw this “sop to the Popish Cerberus,” the

Established Church itself will be in danger? Well, be it so! We speak the language of a large body of its Clergy themselves when we say that, with all our veneration for the Protestant Establishment, better far would it be for the State to withdraw her emoluments, and leave her to fight the battle alone, than that truth and error should be so alike cherished and patronized as to render it doubtful to weak and ignorant minds whether both Churches are not impositions of State,—bugbears, upheld to strengthen the aristocracy, and keep the multitude in subjection!

In considering Popery relatively, as to its position with the State, we shall go into the question of its dogmas, only so far as these have a direct bearing upon the prosperity of a nation. Thus, the sentiment, that “ignorance is the mother of devotion,” cherished by the Church of Rome, has become a living principle; and, in furtherance of its practical use, all instruction that has not for its basis the absolute supremacy of that Church,—all societies that have a tendency to liberalize and humanize the mind,—all books that enlarge the understanding by the impartation of general knowledge,—are placed under the ban of the Church. Thus the Queen’s Colleges in Ireland, although so framed in their constitution that it is impossible for either Catholic or Protestant youth to be the subjects of religious tampering, have been deemed worthy of a rescriptive denunciation from the Pope himself; as has also the Society of Freemasons, which boasts an existence long prior to the power which has thus denounced it; whilst the “*Index Expurgatorius*” of the Vatican has cut off, from the perusal of the faithful, some of the most useful, as well as the most sublime, emanations of human genius. Worse than all, *the Book* which, of all others, contains the purest morality and the sublimest doctrines, and from which *alone* can be derived that “righteousness which exalteth a nation,” is absolutely forbidden to that class of mankind, who, of all others, stand most in need of it as the alleviator of their sufferings in the present life, by holding out to them the hope of a better life hereafter.

Here, then, we have a dogma which, in its practical bearing, stands directly opposed to the progress of the mind in everything that ennobles and humanizes the species. Under its influence, education itself becomes a mere ecclesiastical machine, to mould the mind to a certain form, and limit its attainments to a certain standard of intelligence, most favourable to the absolute authority of the Church. And on the same ground we object to the “forced celibacy of the Clergy, the segregation of men and women in monasteries and nunneries, the practice of confession and absolution, the multiplication of holidays,” &c.; all of which are directly detrimental to the secular and social—and, we may add, the moral and intellectual—well-being of society, on which grounds they were suppressed at the Reformation. Whether it would be politic, at the present day, to renew the

laws against them, for the same reasons, the time is not come to inquire ; and our business is only to show that the Government cannot endow such a system without doing violence to the moral, social, and intellectual well-being of the nation.

That all these great interests suffer irreparable injury from the practices enumerated, is proved by the condition of those countries exclusively Popish. What is the state of morals, for instance, in Spain, Italy, and Austria? Dr. Forbes, after rather rashly assuming, in the first volume, the superior chastity of the Irish women,—an opinion which he subsequently modifies,—ascribes it to the confessional ! Has he, then, read “ Dens’ Theology,” that vile mass of obscenity which the congregated Catholic Clergy of the Diocese of Dublin so strongly recommended as a class-book for Maynooth, and which is, consequently, in the hands of every parish Priest? If he has, would he be willing to allow any Priest, with that book for his guide, to leave his shoes at his wife’s or daughter’s chamber-door, as an intimation that he, the husband and father, must not intrude during the interview?

Dr. Forbes concludes, upon the testimony of the “ lower class of Irish Catholics,” that the confessional is a strong incentive to virtue amongst the females ; and that the charge of the abuse of it, “ *even as a rare case,*” “ among the Irish Priests, is one of the most unjust ever made against that body.” (Vol. ii., p. 82.) It would be exceedingly difficult to procure a body of direct evidence to prove such delinquencies ; although, from what has been related to us on the subject by medical men and others in Ireland, we have no faith whatever in the practical celibacy of the Irish Priests. But, as human nature is the same in all ages and countries, we may judge, from analogy, of the effect of a certain system upon the morals of a people. Now, history records that, in Spain, at one period, so flagrant and general had been the abuse of the confessional, that a committee of inquiry, consisting of twenty Inquisitors, and as many Notaries to write down the evidence, was appointed to investigate the cases ; and all women who had been seduced and outraged by the Priests at the confessional, were charged to come forward and state their cases, on pain of the heaviest censures of the Church. So far, so good. This was an experimental step ; and thirty days were allowed for the investigation. Such, however, was the number of cases still to be heard in the city of Seville alone, that, at the end of that period, thirty more days were appointed, and this was repeated four times. Maids, wives, and widows, young and old, rich and poor, came in throngs, many in the deepest anguish, to relate the horrible atrocities to which they had been subjected ; and business so multiplied on the hands of the committee that, at the end of a hundred and twenty days, they sent for further instructions from Rome : upon which, an order came from the Vatican, *to quash the whole proceedings, destroy the evidence, and bury the whole in oblivion ; so much did it reflect disgrace upon the Church, and*

contempt on the confessional. This account is related by five eminent writers, so that there is no possible reason for doubting its truth.*

Nor is there any doubt that absolution is granted upon confession, not only for murder already committed, but for the intention to commit it at a future time; and that the secrecy of the confessional must not, in either case, be violated. So that a Father Confessor may professionally learn that his intimate friend or neighbour is certain of losing his life at a given time; and yet he must not only absolve the intended murderer, but must make himself an accessory before the fact, by keeping the intention inviolate. We state this on the recent unequivocal admission of a celebrated Jesuit to a reverend friend of our own, forbearing, however, to mention the names. But the fact, that such is the practice of the Church of Rome, is confirmed by other evidence, and by the circumstance that never has a murder in Ireland been yet discovered through the agency of a Priest and the confessional; whilst the general feeling in such cases, amongst the rural population, is that of sympathy with the murderer, and not for his victim.

Is there nothing, then, we ask, in such a practice, opposed to the well-being of society? and is it a religion which imperatively enjoins this practice, on pain of ecclesiastical censure, that a Protestant Government calls upon its people to patronize and endow? What is the state of morals in Italy, where every married woman has her "*cicisbeo*," who claims the right of *entrée* at all times, and on all occasions, provided the husband be absent? What in Austria, where, when it was proposed to the late Emperor to wall off a portion of the city of Vienna for the residence of loose women, he replied, that, "if it were intended to include *all* such within it, the present walls would do very well, and would not be found too extensive?" And had our author taken more time, and looked more closely into the condition of private life amongst the Catholics in Ireland, we feel convinced that he would have hesitated before he gave so favourable a view of the practice of the confessional.

We shall next say a few words respecting the amount of allegiance rendered by the Priests of Ireland to the British Sovereign. Before the establishment of the College of Maynooth, the Irish Roman Catholic youth, as well laymen as those intended

* The authors referred to are, Gonsalvo, p. 185; Llorente, p. 155; Limborch, p. 111; Edgar, p. 529; Da Costa, vol. i., p. 117. This was in the 17th century, and time of Pius IV., and the Papal Bull ran thus:—"Whereas certain Ecclesiastics in the kingdoms of Spain, and in the cities and dioceses thereof, having the cure of souls, or exercising such cure for others, or otherwise deputed to hear the confessions of penitents, have broken out into such heinous acts of iniquity as to abuse the sacrament of penance, in the very act of hearing the confessions, nor fearing to injure the same sacrament, and Him who instituted it, our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, by enticing and provoking, or trying to entice and provoke, females to lewd actions, at the very time when they were making their confessions," &c., &c.

for the Priesthood, received their education chiefly at Douay and St. Omer; and, as it required a considerable outlay to effect this, it followed, that few but the sons of gentlemen were able to avail themselves of it. There were many advantages attending this plan. Not only were the Priests generally men of standing in society, but their education was both sound and liberal; Catholic France having always been noted for opposition to the despotism of the Vatican. With this also was allied that politeness of manners which was a characteristic of the French Clergy and *noblesse*, and is still perceptible amongst all ranks in that country at the present day. The Irish Roman Catholic Clergy were, in fact, gentlemen in rank, manners, and education; and whilst they looked towards Rome as the mother to whom they owed spiritual obedience, they maintained the same degree of independence of her as was so long and strenuously contended for by the French Clergy.

But the British Government conceived, that with these advantages, they also contracted those political feelings in regard to England, which prevailed in France at that period; and that they returned with principles of disaffection towards the British Sovereign and Constitution. They therefore, in an evil day, determined to found and endow a Roman Catholic College in Ireland, to prevent the necessity of sending the youth of the country to France for their education. The erection and endowment of Maynooth College was the result.

And how has this precious do-evil-that-good-may-come system worked? and what has been its effect upon the Irish Catholic Priesthood? In the first instance, so meagre was the Government allowance, and so wretched the accommodation, that none but the lowest of the people would avail themselves of it; and the candidates for the priesthood were selected out of the hedge-schools, none being accepted but such as could be depended on for servility to their ecclesiastical superiors. These were placed under the most rigid Ultra-montane discipline and instruction, being taught to look to the Holy Pontiff as their lawful Sovereign in all things; their obedience to the British Sovereign (the heretic) being subordinate to that due to the Pope. We know this to be the case, because we have heard it avowed by men of education, as well as by others; and it is practically manifested at many public dinners, where the health of the Pope is frequently drunk before, and sometimes to the studied exclusion of, that of the Queen. It was also proved at the time of Smith O'Brien's abortive attempt, by the mass of letters promising him support from most of the leading Catholic Ecclesiastics in Ireland; and the recent extension of the grant to Maynooth to £30,000 has made the matter worse instead of better. The candidates for the Priesthood are still selected from the same class, only in greatly augmented numbers; so that not only are Priests educated there for Ireland, but for England and the Colonies,

and the United States of America; and a mass of low-bred, disaffected men are disseminated into every portion of the British dominions.

We see the effect of this system upon the mind of the Irish Catholics, in that bitter hatred, which is expressed on all public occasions, to the English nation. What may be the ultimate result upon the future prosperity and peace of the Empire at large, remains to be seen. But to attempt to check the evil by rewarding the evil-doers, is an absurdity worthy only of insanity. What, we would ask, has been the effect of all the concessions hitherto made to the Roman Catholics of Ireland? Every individual step in that direction has been used by them as a means of strengthening their hostility to the Government; nor will they cease their efforts, until they have once more obtained the ascendancy in both political and ecclesiastical affairs, resumed the benefices of which they were so justly deprived, and once more established the power of the Pope in these islands.

Will it be said that this is an absurd and visionary idea? Let us then look at the present state of the kingdom. If the "Record" and other Church-of-England Journals speak the truth, a large body of its Clergy are prepared, or preparing, to embrace Romanism on the first favourable opportunity. A great number, also, of the aristocracy are inclining the same way, on account of its conservative character. From half to two-thirds of the army are absolute Catholics, and a large portion of the remainder care not which system prevails. And with regard to the people, we believe that the middle class may be depended on; but the mass of the lower class, though calling themselves Protestants, never enter a place of worship, and are, in fact, more disposed to Romanism than otherwise, and would certainly take part against Evangelical Protestantism, in case of a conflict.

But the Parliament? What will it do? Should it come to a struggle, how many of the present House of Commons would think it worth while to uphold a principle against the latitudinarian spirit which so much prevails in high places? We fear, much less than a majority; and that there would be an awful falling away amongst those who now call themselves staunch Protestants.

But we must close our remarks, although there are many other topics in the work before us worthy of observation, if space could be allowed for them. Dr. Forbes' description of the beauties of Ireland, both of the country and the women, are written in an easy and graphic style, and cannot fail of pleasing; and the statistics both of the National Schools, the state of the Union-houses, and of the temperance movement, are deeply interesting to the philanthropist and the politician.

- ART. IV.—1. *The British Desmidiæ*. By JOHN RALFS, M.R.C.S. London: Reeve, Benham, and Reeve. 1848.
2. *A History of the British Freshwater Algae, including Descriptions of the Desmidiæ and Diatomaceæ, with upwards of 100 Plates*. By A. H. HASSAL, F.L.S., &c. London: S. Highley. 1845.
3. *Recherches sur les Anthéridies et les Spores de quelques Fucus*. Par MM. DECAISNE et THURET. Annales des Sciences Naturelles. 3me Série. Paris, 1845.
4. *Botanique Cryptogamique, ou Histoire des Familles naturelles des Plantes inférieures*. Par J. PAYER, Avocat, Docteur és Sciences, Maître en Pharmacie, Agrégé de la Faculté des Sciences, Paris, et Professeur à l'École Normale. Paris: Victor Masson. 1850.
5. *Recherches sur les Zoospores des Algues et les Anthéridies des Cryptogames*. Par M. GUSTAVE THURET. Annales des Sciences Naturelles. 3me Série, Tome 16. 1851.
6. *Mémoire pour servir à l'Histoire Organographique et Physiologique des Lichens*. Par M. L. R. TULASNE. Annales des Sciences Naturelles. 3me Série, Tome 17. 1852.
7. *Class-Book of Botany, being an Introduction to the Study of the Vegetable Kingdom*. By J. H. BALFOUR, M.D., F.R.S.E., F.L.S.; Regius Keeper of the Royal Botanic Garden, Professor of Medicine and Botany in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1852.
8. *The British Species of Angiocarpous Lichens, elucidated by their Sporidia*. By the REV. W. A. LEIGHTON, B.A., F.B.S.E. & L. London: printed for the Ray Society. 1851.
9. *A Synopsis of the British Diatomaceæ*. By the REV. W. SMITH, F.L.S. London: Van Voorst. 1853.
10. *Phycologia Britannica; or, History of British Seaweeds, including all the Species of Algae inhabiting the Shores of the British Isles*. By WILLIAM HENRY HARVEY, M.D., M.R.I.A.; Keeper of the Herbarium of the University of Dublin. London: Reeve, Benham, and Reeve.

"THOSE who come to inquire after knowledge," says Lord Bacon, "with a mind to scorn, shall be sure to find matter for their humour, but none for their instruction;" and so it ever will be. Narrow, however, as was the spirit that dictated the sneers of Wolcot, Pope, and the wits of the last two centuries, when they ridiculed the labours of contemporaneous naturalists, their sarcastic attacks were not wholly unmerited. At that time, attention was too exclusively devoted to details of external conformation, whilst the higher physiological problems which give to these details their sole interest, were in the main neglected. On looking over the works of naturalists prior to the age of Buffon, we cannot fail to be struck with their uninteresting character. They

are mere assemblages of names and technicalities, with nothing to clothe the dry bones, or to infuse into them a spirit of life. Not that we mean to disparage scientific nomenclature: far from it.

"Then names are good; for how, without their aid,
Is knowledge, gain'd by man, to man convey'd?
But from that source shall all our pleasures flow?
Shall all our knowledge be these names to know?"

The subject assumes a widely different aspect, when we associate with such dry details either the broad generalizations with which every fact has some important relation, or the evidences of special adaptation to a purpose, which bespeaks an intelligent designer. Thus, when we have once learnt the magnificent truth first enunciated by the poet Göethe, that all the petals, stamens, and pistils of a flower, are but leaves modified for the purposes of reproduction, everything connected with these organs assumes a new significance; their shape, size, colour, and number have been altered so as to adapt them for the performance of their several functions; and in the nature of these modifications we find evidences, at once simple and sublime, of the power and wisdom of God. It is true, there are many who are unable to perceive beauty in the illustrations which nature supplies of the existence of general laws; who fail to appreciate the evidences, that, amidst the diversities which alone strike the untaught eye, there lurks a unity which bespeaks a pre-arranged plan, and a great First Cause. It is to be feared that this class of individuals is a large one; but, in spite of their intellectual, or rather un-intellectual, dulness, these truths are replete with beauty; and the studies which develop a knowledge of them are rapidly extending in all educated circles. Hence, we trust the day is not remote, when the obtuseness of narrow minds, and the one-sided witticisms of higher intellects, will be known only as obsolete things, to be classed with shilling postages, tinder-boxes, and mail-coaches running eight miles an hour.

Of late years, a new spirit has been infused into the pioneers of natural science. They are no longer satisfied either with absurd guesses, or with superficial investigations. They seek to penetrate the innermost arcana of nature. To them may be applied the language uttered by Evelyn, when vindicating his coadjutors of the then infant Royal Society: "They are not hasty in pronouncing, from a single or incompetent number of experiments, the ecstatic *Εύρηκα*, and offer hecatombs; but after the most diligent scrutiny, and by degrees, and many inductions honestly and faithfully made, record the truth and event of trials, and submit them to posterity."

To no branch of science are the preceding remarks more applicable than to the subject of the works at the head of this article. Their writers treat of organisms which have, until lately, been imperfectly understood, even by the best botanists. Hence it

affords little cause for wonder, that in earlier years the existence of the objects was either wholly unknown, or strangely misapprehended. Bacon, in his "Natural History," speaks of the Moss growing on trees as "a kind of hair; for it is the juice of the tree that is excerned, and doth not assimilate." To the unscientific masses, though they may occasionally admire the elegance of a Fern, or the varied hues of "the rock with Lichens grey," these objects are necessarily devoid of material interest. It would be difficult to persuade such persons, that in the dry crust of the Lichen, or in the slimy seaweeds cast on shore by the wintry gale, there are hidden, pictures of unsurpassed beauty, vital processes of marvellous strangeness, and resources for the attainment of needful ends, which display the wisdom of God in some of its most exquisite manifestations.

The vegetable kingdom has long been separated into two great subdivisions, viz., the *Phanerogamia*, and the *Cryptogamia*; terms originating in peculiarities connected with the sexuality of Plants. The existence of sexual organs was first demonstrated in 1676 by Sir Thomas Millington, and afterwards confirmed by Grew, Malpighi, and Ray. At a later period, the immortal Linnaeus gave new significance to the discovery of our countryman, by making it the basis of a classification of Plants, long destined to be accepted throughout the civilized world. The stamens and pistils are now universally acknowledged to be the male and female organs of plants, exercising a mysterious, but well understood, influence over one another, prior to the development of the seeds. Sometimes both classes of organs are found in the same flower. At others, they are found on the same plant, but located on separate flowers, then called *Monœcious*. In a third group, they not only occupy different flowers, but grow on different plants of the same species, which are then called *Diœcious*. As a *practical* fact, this was known to the ancient Egyptians. The Date Palm happens to be one of those in which the stamens and pistils are developed on different plants; and as its fruit formed an important element in their daily food, the Egyptians learned to increase the productiveness of the pistilliferous or female trees, by artificially conveying to them the pollen of the male flowers.

In each of these types of vegetation, the sexual organs are conspicuous, and their functions obvious; hence the plants are termed "*Phanerogamic*," from two Greek words, implying conspicuousness of the union or marriage. The great group thus designated comprehends most of the obvious forms of vegetable life. But there also exists a second group, comprehending the Ferns, Mosses, Liverworts, Sea-weeds, Mushrooms, and Lichens, in which for a long time no sexuality could be detected: hence the term "*Cryptogamic*" was applied to them, indicating that their union or marriage was concealed. Many unavailing efforts were made to establish a close resemblance between the repro-

duction of these objects, and that of the flowering plants. But the best botanists often blundered on, amidst forced analogies, sustained by assertions, which were sometimes dogmatic in proportion to the weakness of the hypothesis they were intended to strengthen. Even the masculine mind of Sir Edward Smith, the learned author of the "English Flora," did not wholly escape from these errors. He castigated his predecessor, Hedwig, for his unbelief on points, where the sceptical dissent of the latter has been shown by recent investigations to be as legitimate, as the inferences of his corrector were wide of the mark; affording to younger and less accomplished authors a valuable lesson as to the necessity for caution and modesty.

Many writers have wholly denied the existence of sexuality amongst Cryptogamic plants, and have contended that, in this matter, they stand apart from the more ordinary forms of vegetable life. Several distinguished living botanists belong to this class; their still considerable number being significant of the rapidity with which this department of science has progressed. Most of the labour has been done within the last ten years; (*much* within the last five;) during which period, Suminski, Thuret, Decaisné, Ralfs, Thwaites, Berkeley, Tulasné, Hoffmeister, and a host of other observers, following up the inquiries of Hedwig and Amici, have removed much of the obscurity which has hitherto clouded this interesting question, and, at the same time, indicated the direction in which all further inquiries must be made.

Cryptogamic plants are divisible into two great classes, distinguished from one another by a marked peculiarity of internal organization. The less highly organized forms consist wholly of what are called "cells." These are minute bladder-like vesicles, aggregated in various ways, and varying considerably both in their size and form. Sometimes they are flattened into lozenge-shaped plates; at others they are drawn out and pointed at each end, like spindles. Again, they may retain their primary spherical shape, or be mutually compressed into polyhedral forms: but, in all such cases, they retain their primary character, as an aggregation of closed sacs.

In addition to an abundance of these cells, the plants belonging to the other division of the *Cryptogamia*, possess what are termed "vessels," corresponding with what exist in all flowering plants. These are elongated tubes, chiefly originating in the coalescence of a linearly arranged series of cells, and the subsequent absorption of their contiguous extremities: as if the authorities of London, when laying down pipes to convey a purer fluid to the good citizens than has hitherto been supplied to them, (*nunquam sera!*) had fastened a number of barrels together by their extremities, and then by the wave of some magic wand had annihilated all the barrel-heads, leaving a long open tube. These vessels play an important part in the

conveyance of the nutritive sap from one organ to another. In the *Cryptogamia*, they are chiefly confined to the Ferns, the Club-Mosses, and the *Equiseta* or Mares'-tails, with their allies. These peculiarities of structure have led some botanists to divide plants into vascular and cellular; all the flowery species and part of the *Cryptogamia* being comprehended in the former, and the remaining *Cryptogamia* in the latter.

If we were asked wherein lay the chief peculiarity of the modern modes of studying botany, we should unhesitatingly say, in the recognition of the important functions performed by the vegetable cell. We mainly owe this recognition to the careful study of the cellular *Cryptogamia*, in which, since no vessels exist, the cells necessarily fulfil every function of vegetable life, whether nutritive or reproductive. What, then, is this important structure, designated a "cell?" We have already observed that it is a small closed vesicle, consisting of *Cellulose*, a substance having the composition of starch with a little water superadded. Within this outer membrane there is usually an inner one, which contains a gummy fluid, often granules of starch and of waxy colouring matter, with other substances of less importance. This inner membrane, with its granular mucilaginous contents, forms the "Protoplasm," the vital, all-important part of the cell, by which is secreted the outer vesicle, and which separates from the nutritive sap the gum, sugar, resins, and other vegetable products, with which most are familiar.

The simplest form of vegetation consists of one of these cells existing in an independent condition, and isolated from all others. When a little atom of yeast is diluted with water, and placed under the microscope, it is seen to contain myriads of small globules, each one of which is a single cell: a few are occasionally, though rarely, linked together. These globules are the Yeast-plant or *Torula*, the existence of which is in some way connected with the fermentation of saccharine fluids, and which represents one of the simplest forms of vegetable life. The plant multiplies by what is termed fissiparous generation. The cell becomes constricted in the middle, like an hour-glass; and after existing for a time as two cohering vesicles, these vesicles finally become detached, each undergoing the same process as the one from which it sprang. Little do our readers dream, when they drink their Burton ale, how much they owe to the decomposing influences of a microscopic Mushroom.

The next step in the ascending scale shows us a few cells ranged in a line, forming a filament. If the traveller in Derbyshire or Wales examines the damp rocks in the neighbourhood of springs and waterfalls, he will often find them covered with an olive-coloured gelatine. This is the *Nostoc*, or "Fallen Star." On compressing a little of it between two glasses, we shall find that the jelly, which is transparent, contains numerous green filaments, like minute strings of beads. These are little more

than our old friends, the cells of the Yeast-plant, cohering in linear series, forming compound filaments. This, however, is not a *Fungus*, or Mushroom, but a *Conserve*.

It is to the existence of closely allied plants that are due many of the strange phenomena which awe frightened nations from their propriety, such as showers of blood, and the apparent conversion of rivers and lakes into the same sanguinary fluid. The stones washed by the mountain streams of Wales are not unfrequently invested by a thin coating of a bright red colour, known as the "Gory Dew." This consists of a colourless jelly, containing innumerable bright red granules, each of which is a cell, containing a progeny of younger cells within it. In this case the fissiparous subdivision is limited to the contained protoplasm of the cells, which divides into two, the outer cell-membrane undergoing no change beyond a gradual distension. This process is repeated again, every subdivision of the protoplasm being followed by the secretion of a distinct cell-membrane around each resulting half. In time, the tension of the parent cell becomes so great that it gives way, and the contained young plants escape,—the single cell having thus liberated at least two others. Since, under favourable conditions, this process goes on with marvellous rapidity, it ceases to be a matter of wonder that large bodies of water should sometimes become so charged with these crimson plants as to assume a blood-red appearance. The striking phenomenon of the "Red Snow," well known to Arctic travellers, owes its origin to a similar plant vegetating in the snow, which it sometimes reddens over very extensive areas.

From the starting-point furnished by the simple forms of vegetation just referred to, we can branch off in several directions. From the Yeast-plant we may ascend, through the various forms of mould, to the most highly organized of the *Fungi*,—the edible Mushrooms. We can also ascend, in like manner, through the jointed plants abounding in fresh water, and known as *Conserve*. Proceeding in other directions, we find the parent cell dividing and sub-dividing, as before; but, instead of the cells thus formed becoming detached, they cohere in one place, forming a flat foliaceous expansion, instead of isolated granules, or even a jointed filament. In this way are produced the richly coloured sea-weeds, the deserved favourites of all pleasure-seekers on the sea-coast. Similar phenomena attend the development of Lichens; so that, through several cognate lines, we connect the isolated cell, itself a perfect plant, with the highest forms of vegetable life.

Some of the most extraordinary and novel modes of reproduction occur amongst these lowly types, the study of which has thrown considerable light upon the reproductive phenomena seen amongst the highest vertebrate animals, especially in their earliest stages. They have taught us the grand truth, that

reproduction appears to involve the separate existence of two cells, (to which Professor Owen has assigned the names of Sperm-cell and Germ-cell,) and that a more or less complete blending of the contents of these cells is essential to the development of a new embryo. Let us, for a moment, examine this phenomenon, as it occurs amongst the *Conservee*.

There are few who have not noticed the green covering that floats on the surface of most stagnant pools. We do not now refer to the small elliptical leaves of the duck-weed, but to a slimy, half-fermenting mass, usually of an olive-green colour, with occasional patches of a brighter hue, entangling large gaseous bubbles amongst its decomposing elements, and conveying to the unscientific mind any sensations but pleasurable ones. To the ardent microscopist, however, these are the true game-preserves. Repeal the Game-laws, if you will, but don't drain his ponds. Let Sanitary Commissioners beware how they venture within a mile of his covers, if they hope to escape his wrath; for amongst these decaying filaments dwell myriads of the marvellous animalcules, which, when revealed by the magic microscope, have been a source of delight to thousands, and will be to thousands more. But, besides these animal wonders, the vegetable threads, which look so revolting in the aggregate, exhibit, under the microscope, forms and colours of most exquisite beauty. The threads are made up of transparent cells, arranged in regular linear series. Within each of these cells is the green protoplasm, with its investing membrane,—at first lining the entire cell, but soon re-arranging itself in beautiful spiral bands, in which large brilliant granules are planted, at regular intervals, sparkling like gems in some royal tiara.

But after a while all this changes. The symmetry of the protoplasm is lost, and in the place of the spiral bands we have an irregular, shrivelled, granular mass. The filament now ranges itself by the side of another of the same species; and here, at the outset, we are struck by the evidence of a half-instinctive faculty, which enables it to discriminate between threads of its own species and those of any other, however closely allied. The opposite cells of each of the contiguous filaments now project into the narrow intervening space small processes, which meet midway, become united, and, by the absorption of their two extremities, establish numerous tubular bridges of communication between the two filaments. Along each of these bridges, the coloured protoplasm of one of the cells passes, and enters the opposite cell, which thus obtains a double portion at the expense of its now empty neighbour. This double protoplasm soon becomes consolidated into an oval body of exquisite symmetry, which encases itself in a fine, transparent, protecting membrane, secreted from the exterior. The cells of the parent plants subsequently break up and liberate the protoplasms, now converted into

spores, which in popular phraseology may be regarded as seeds. These spores, protected by their investing membranes, alike resisting the summer droughts and the winter frosts, perpetuate the species through all successive years.

In the formation of these seed-like spores from which new plants are developed, the union of the contents of two cells is obviously essential. Different *Conserve* exhibit many modifications of the details, but the principle is the same. Sometimes the contents of two contiguous cells in the same filament unite in one of them. At others, the protoplasm leaves both the cells of two filaments, and unites in the temporary bridge which connects them together. Illustrations of these numerous variations will be found in Mr. Hassal's volume. The discovery of this process, to which the technical name of "conjugation" has been applied, is one of the most important made by the Cryptogamic botanists, since its application is not limited to their objects of study. It has given the clue to the solution of some of the most recondite phenomena of human and comparative physiology; consequently its scientific importance can scarcely be over-estimated.

Mr. Ralfs' volume is devoted to the consideration of an allied group of minute objects, common in fresh water, called *Desmidiæ*. The majority of these consist of a single cell, so constricted in the middle as to give to many of the species a bi-lateral symmetry, which, though common amongst animals, is rarely seen in the vegetable world. Indeed, the great Prussian naturalist, Ehrenberg, arranged all these exquisite atoms, along with many others referred to in this article, amongst his Infusorial animals. As to the vegetable nature of the vast majority of these objects, there can no longer be any reasonable doubt, since even the beautiful and actively moving "Globe-animalcules" (*Volvox*) have been conclusively shown by Professor Williamson, of Manchester, and Dr. Cohn, of Breslau, to belong to the vegetable kingdom. The *Desmidiæ*, of which Mr. Ralfs has shown himself such an able expositor, exhibit beautiful illustrations of the formation of spores by conjugation. But besides these spores which exhibit no motion, many of the *Conserve* produce little green bodies called *Zoospores*, capable of performing strange antics, for vegetable productions. According to Mr. Hassal,—

"They fall into the water, through which they begin to move hither and thither; now progressing in a straight line, with the *rostra* in advance;—now wheeling round and pursuing a different course;—now letting their *rostra* drop, and oscillating upon them, like balloons ere the strings are cut, or like tops, their centripetal force being nearly expended;—now altogether stopping, and anon resuming their curious and excentric motions. Truly wonderful is the velocity with which these microscopic objects progress, their relative speed far surpassing that of the swiftest race-horse. After a time, however, the motion becomes much retarded, and at length the *Zoospores* then lie as though dead.

Not so, however. They have merely lost the power of locomotion. The vital principle is still active within them, and they are seen to expand, to become partitioned; and if the species be of an attached kind, each Zoospore will emit from its transparent extremity two or more radicles, whereby it becomes finally, and for ever, fixed."—*Hassall's History of British Freshwater Conservee*, vol. i., p. 11.

The faith of the casual observer, who sees these objects under the microscope for the first time, is strangely taxed on being told that they are of vegetable origin. His stare of incredulity is often most comical. His old prejudices respecting the stationary habits of plants, derived from the oaks and apple-trees with which his childhood was familiar, are sadly disturbed, when he is told that there are vegetables which move with such freedom and rapidity as to exhibit many signs of apparent volition. Plant-germs, nevertheless, these active *Zoospores* are, since their development into true *Conservee* has been traced by more than one observer.

The transition from the jointed *Conservee* to those plants more commonly known as "sea-weeds," is gradual. In many of the latter we have the same cellular structure, but the cells have spread out in one or more horizontal layers, producing broad foliaceous expansions, (*Thalli*,) which may either be undivided, as in some common Tangles, or branched, as in the elegant crimson *Placodiums*, which are the delight of all seaside-going young ladies.

In these sea-weeds, we find two very distinct modes of reproduction; nutrition being still carried on by the individual cells absorbing fluid from the sea. The simplest of these is by means of what are termed *Tetraspores*. On holding one of the delicate sea-weeds between the eye and the light, its surface, especially near the extremities of the fronds, will often appear studded with minute dark specks. These are small *buds* formed by the quaternary division of the protoplasts of some cells. They develop an external protecting covering, which preserves them when liberated by the decay of the parent plant; and though each one becomes a new plant, they must be regarded as representing the deciduous buds formed at the bases of the leaves of some lilies, rather than as seeds.

But there is also another way in which sea-weeds produce spores of a different class, as the result of a process of conjugation. On examining one of the common Bladder-wracks covering the rocks between high and low water-marks, we shall find there often exist on the leafy expansion two kinds of enlargements. One of these exhibits large bladder-like inflations of the frond, containing air, and serving as floats. The others generally occupy the extremities of each frond; and are of a yellowish hue, having their surface studded with minute pustules, as if suffering from some eruptive disease. At the apex of each of these little pustules is a small aperture leading to a larger internal cavity, which is lined with numerous small cellular jointed filaments, resembling

confervoid plants. On examining some of the joints of these filaments under a very high power, they are seen to contain myriads of small moving objects, like very minute Tadpoles, with one or more long tails, closely resembling what are called *Spermatozoa*, found in the sperm-cells of all the higher animals. Similar objects are found in the male anthers of many flowering plants. Hence the filaments containing them in Cryptogamic plants have been appropriately termed *antheridia*.

Nestling amongst these *antheridia* in the pustules (termed "conceptacles") of these sea-weeds, are large oval spores, invested, like those of the *Confervæ*, by a transparent covering. These spores have been developed from germ-cells, between which and the contents of some of the sperm-cells there is reason to believe that an union has taken place, analogous to the conjugation of the simpler *Confervæ*. The result of these phenomena is the formation of numerous separate spores, which become liberated when the parent plant decays, and subsequently fulfil all the purposes of true seeds. Thus we see that these sea-weeds are multiplied in two ways; namely, by the production of buds which become detached from the parent plant, and by the formation of bodies resembling seeds,—the result of a true sexual process. This distinction is most important, since it explains some phenomena exhibited by many of the higher *Cryptogamia*, hitherto ill-understood, and which have occasioned warm discussions, in some of which the disputants have displayed a tartness reminding us of the polemical contests of the Schoolmen.

M. Payer, in his beautiful work, has committed the error of confounding the gemmules, or buds, with the spores resulting from a union of the contents of two cells. Thus he arranges all the spores of sea-weeds and *Confervæ*, in the same category with those produced in the urn-like capsules of Mosses, and on the under surfaces of the fronds of Ferns. We shall shortly show that these latter structures result from very different modes of reproduction,—as different as those which produce the two kinds of spores in the sea-weeds,—and shall have to refer again to M. Payer's views on this subject.

Closely allied to the confervoid plants are the *Diatomaceæ*,—objects frequently found both in fresh and salt water. Whilst they exhibit several features in common with the *Desmidiæ*, they are distinguished by having each cell invested with a siliceous covering, secreted by the contained protoplasm. Some of these are single and free; others combine to form parasitic chains, one end of which is usually attached to some shell or aquatic plant. Nothing can surpass the beautiful sculpture which adorns the surface of many *Diatomaceæ*. Being easily mounted as microscopic objects, they are the special favourites of most observers.

Of all the organisms referred to in this article, the *Diatomaceæ* occupy the most equivocal position. Naturalists are far from agreement, as to whether they are plants or animals. Mr. Thwaites

found species in which conjugation had taken place,—a process which we have already seen to be common amongst plants: but a somewhat similar phenomenon has recently been discovered in the *Gregarine*, minute animalcules found in the alimentary canals of worms; so that undue stress must not be laid upon Mr. Thwaites' interesting discovery. On the whole, they appear to assimilate more closely to the vegetable than to the animal kingdom; but, at the same time, we see no reason for denying the existence of intermediate beings, connecting these two great divisions of the organic world. The living creations may be divided into a vast number of groups, of which certain well-marked examples may be regarded as the central types. Thus the tiger or leopard may be taken as the type of the group of Feline animals; the wolf, of the Lupine race, including the dog, fox, and their allies: the eagle, and the wild duck, respectively typify two groups of birds. If we place each of these typical animals in the centre of all those which have an affinity to it, arranging nearest to the type those which most closely resemble it, as we approach the periphery of the group, we shall find the forms to differ more and more from the typical example, until we ultimately arrive at objects which cannot be definitely united with any of these aggregated groups. Milne Edwards has suggested that since each group is separated from its neighbours by a kind of neutral ground, happily designated "a circumvallation" by M. Flourens, we may admit the existence of satellite groups, occupying the neutral space, and which, being independent of all types, may have no decided connexion with either of the typical groups between which they are located. If this be true of all the minor subdivisions of the organic world, why should it not be equally so of the major? In the creation of terrestrial organisms, two great primary ideas have obviously existed in the divine mind,—that of the plant, and that of the animal; ideas that we can vividly realize, so long as we limit our conceptions to the well-marked, dominant forms with which we are familiar, such as a tree and a vertebrate animal. But, after we have grouped the aggregates of these two kingdoms around their respective types, there still remains a number of objects which hover midway between them, and which we are not called upon to attach definitely to either. The existence of two grand subjective ideas in the mind of Deity, does not for a moment involve the existence of a definite boundary-line between the innumerable forms in which each of these ideas has found an objective manifestation.

Whether these *Diatomaceæ* are animals, or vegetables, or neither, they are beautiful and interesting objects. Magnificent examples of them abound in guano. The birds to which the guano owes its origin, have fed upon sea-weeds loaded with these parasites, or upon shell-fish which contained them in their stomachs; for they are found in the alimentary canals of most marine animals. The siliceous cases have alike survived all the digestive influences

to which they have been exposed, and the decomposition of the accumulated mass of excrement. It is probable, that they augment the fertilizing properties of the guano, by contributing to the soil some of the siliceous element which is so essential to the growth of the various grasses and cereal plants. They are found in vast numbers in a fossil state. Beds of considerable thickness, chiefly composed of them, are of frequent occurrence, sometimes ranging over hundreds of miles of country, especially in America. The soil of the rice-grounds of Savannah and Carolina contains myriads of marine forms, showing that at a recent period these still swampy states have been under the sea. The well-known Tripoli, or polishing powder of Bilni, owes its economic properties to the minute siliceous cases of *Diatomaceæ*, of which it consists; and a similar bed occurring at Tullamore, in Ireland, is known to the neighbouring peasantry as "Lord Roden's plate-powder."

Mr. Smith's work is confined to the free species of the *Diatomaceæ*, and is a valuable addition to our English monographs. The plates are beautifully executed, and well represent the various forms. The frontispiece is an exception to this eulogy, being coarse and rough; its defects contrasting in a marked manner with the more important plates on which the species are delineated. We believe that the author intends to publish a second volume on the attached species, amongst which Mr. Ralfs has laboured so successfully; and we shall hail this further result of Mr. Smith's researches with great pleasure.

In glancing at the *Fungi*, or Mushrooms, we must again go back to the primary vegetable cell; for to this group belongs the *Torula*, or Yeast-plant, to which we have already referred as one of the simplest forms of vegetable life. In forming our notion of a Mushroom, we must not confine our ideas to those esculent species which have such charms for the modern epicure. The eatable Mushroom is, in fact, only the fruit-bearing portion of the plant, not the plant itself; any more than a bunch of Filberts is the Nut-tree, or of Grapes, the Vine. In the majority of cases, the real Fungus is a "*Mycelium*;" an assemblage of minute jointed filaments which ramify under the ground, push their way through the interstices of decaying wood, or fatten upon the decomposition of all kinds of organized bodies. The knowledge of this circumstance explains many facts connected with their history. Thus the fairy circles seen on our grassy pastures, once thought to be owing to the dances of—

"Demy-puppets that

By moonshine do the green-sour ringlets make,"

have long been suspected to be occasioned by Mushrooms, which plants were often found growing on the darkened ring. It was supposed that they commenced at a central point, and, extending themselves in every direction, exhausted the soil of ingredients

necessary for their nutrition : hence they ceased to exist at the centre, and confined themselves to the periphery of the ever-enlarging area.

But the objection was made to this ingenious hypothesis, that the Mushrooms existed in too small numbers, and too far apart, to have formed the unbroken fairy-ring. The discovery that the true *Fungus* was a subterranean *Mycelium* did away with all doubt on the subject ; so that, substituting *Mycelium* for " Mushroom," the above explanation becomes a correct one. The subterranean fibres interlace in such numbers, as to form an unbroken ring ; but it is only here and there that they send up to the surface the reproductive structure to which the name of " Mushroom " is popularly applied, and which had attracted the attention of early observers.

To attempt to give but an abstract of the various forms of *Fungi*, and their modes of reproduction, would involve details which, even could they be comprehended without pictorial illustrations, would be incompatible with the limits of this article. For these points we must refer our readers to the excellent work of M. Payer, in which they are profusely illustrated by well-executed woodcuts. It is much to be regretted, that no English edition of this publication has made its appearance : were such to be issued by the proprietors of the original wood-blocks, it could scarcely fail to be successful.

To this group of plants belong the curious lines of red and white excrescences, which, in wet weather, grow out of old posts and rails ; all the varieties of mould which spoil the good housewife's preserves, and at whose door have been laid those formidable pests to society,—the potato disease, and the dry rot. It would appear, that in the latter cases, after finding a suitable soil for germination, where some weakness indicates incipient decay, the plants become changed from effects to causes, and rapidly promote the destruction which they did not always originate. To the same group also belongs the whole tribe of edible and poisonous mushrooms.

All these *Fungi* may be regarded as consisting essentially of two parts,—the filamentous *mycelium*, and the reproductive organs. The former usually consists of branched, jointed threads. The reproductive organs exhibit innumerable modifications. Sometimes only the terminal cell of each filament is enlarged to form a spore, which becomes detached, and originates a new plant. At others, many of the terminal joints do the same thing, looking, before they separate, like strings of beads. In the common Mushrooms, the subterranean *mycelium* sends up to the surface the *Pileus*, the Mushroom of the cook, which is but a reproductive apparatus developed by the *mycelium*. The radiating *laminae* on the inferior surface of this *Pileus* are covered over with very minute vesicles, from the surfaces of which project three or four small spikes, each being surmounted by a single

spherical spore. In the *Lycoperdon*, or Puff-ball, so common in our meadows, the entire plant consists of a mass of spherical cells, contained within a common investment,—each cell being a “conceptacle” filled with minute spores; which, when the plant is matured, blow away like impalpable dust. It has been calculated that, in the *Bovista*, one of these Puff-balls, that increases in a single night from the size of a pea to that of a melon, these cells must be produced at the rate of about 66,000,000 in a minute; a rate of development which explains the proverbially rapid growth of the *Fungi*.

Closely allied to the *Fungi* are the *Lichens*,—

“The living stains, which Nature’s hand alone,
Profuse of life, pours out upon the stone,
For ever growing.”

In the first instance, these plants consist of a thread-like *mycelium*, which adheres to the irregularities of the rock, or lurks amid the cracks in the bark of the tree. This *mycelium*, which is essentially the plant in the Mushrooms, constitutes but a transitory growth in the Lichens, soon giving way to the permanent structure to which the name of *Lichen* is ordinarily applied. This latter is really a common receptacle, bearing the reproductive apparatus; but, by a change of function, of which we have numerous examples, it assumes the nutritive offices, which, in the Mushrooms, are performed by the *mycelium*. These Lichens derive none of their nourishment from the trees and rocks on which they grow, but from the atmosphere. This is shown by their distribution, which is regulated more by climatic influences, than by the various substances to which they attach themselves. Species that in one part of the globe are found only on the bark of certain trees, in other regions are equally confined to particular rocks. For example, a species which in the south of France is found everywhere, in the north only exists on warm, calcareous soils, not thriving on those of a cold, clayey nature: the reason of this limitation has some obvious relation to the greater rapidity with which the former imbibe heat, than the latter. At the same time, the Lichens are, of all known objects, the best fitted for resisting hygrometric atmospheric changes; a property essential to the conditions under which the Creator has destined them to exist. Covering the hardest rocks, they may at one time be soaked with continuous rain; and, at another, be exposed for weeks together to the parching rays of a vertical sun, unable to obtain any appreciable amount of moisture. Hence, they may be dried up, reduced to powder, and scattered to the winds, but without losing their inherent vitality. Many of the dispersed grains retain within themselves a principle of life, which enables them, as soon as the requisite conditions return, to germinate anew. Thus the causes which threatened their destruction have but dispersed their germs, and multiplied their numbers.

The leaf-like expansion of the Lichen consists of two classes of cells,—those which are oblong or cylindrical, and those which are spherical. In the flat incrusting species, the latter usually occur near the upper surface. They are also distinguished from the cylindrical forms, by being filled with green colouring matter. If we glance at one of the large circular patches so common on old walls and exposed rocks, we shall find, that whilst the periphery has a smooth, leaf-like aspect, the central part is disintegrated and granular. This disintegration progresses until the whole disc is reduced to a greenish or yellowish powder, which consists of small masses of the spherical cells, known as *gonidia*; each of which may be regarded as a veritable bud, capable of becoming developed into a new plant.

But, besides this increase by budding, Lichens have another mode of multiplication. The common receptacle exhibits here and there small special receptacles (*apothecia*). These exist either in the form of little spheres, each being perforated at the apex, or of hollow saucer-like cavities, which are often conspicuous from their bright red, yellow, or black colours. When they are divided transversely, they are seen to consist of a number of small jointed filaments, (*Antheridia* or *Paraphyses*,) disposed vertically, and closely packed: amongst these filaments numerous large oblong cells (*Asci*) are distributed in the same vertical manner. The joints of the *Paraphyses* contain multitudes of small oblong bodies, supposed by M. Tulasné to represent the *Antherozoa*, or Sperm-cells, of the higher plants; whilst, within the *Asci*, a series of minute spores, varying in number from four to sixteen, are arranged in perpendicular series. It is most probable, that these *Asci* represent the Germ-cells, and that, at an early period of growth, some true conjugation takes place between them and the small bodies contained within the *Antheridia*, or *Paraphyses*, the result of which is the formation of the reproductive spores.

There are few persons, with any pretensions to sentiment, who, when reclining in some greenwood shade, have failed to appreciate the symmetry and graceful elegance of the tribe of Mosses. To the physiologist, they possess a still higher interest, as being amongst the first of the Cryptogamic plants in which Hedwig demonstrated the existence of sexuality. In 1784, John Hedwig published, at St. Petersburg, a quarto volume, in which he endeavoured to show, that the *Cryptogamia* possessed a sexuality as distinct as that of the ordinary flowering plants. The general truth of this demonstration was admitted by Sir Edward Smith, the distinguished author of the "English Flora;" but he was unable either to comprehend, or to sanction, all the distinctions that the philosophic mind of the northern botanist so clearly perceived. In fact, Hedwig lived as far in advance of his age as did Galileo or Copernicus, Burke or Adam Smith. Even in 1839, we find Dr. Carpenter writing on the *Cryptogamia* as

follows: "Although botanists have laboured to discover the existence of a second set of reproductive organs in these classes, analogous to those which exist in the *Phanerogamia*, none such have been demonstrated;"* and in a foot-note he adds, "The so-called *anthers* of Mosses, Liverworts, &c., have not, in the opinions of the best Cryptogamic botanists, any influence on the production of the germs from the *theca*." We see from this, how little progress in public favour had been made by Hedwig's hypothesis, since his conclusions were not considered to be materially better than a mass of absurd guesses which had been from time to time indulged in by various men. But the last few years have made a great change in the state of the question. The more recent investigations of Thuret, Tulasné, Suminski, and others, have confirmed the views first enumerated by Hedwig, who, after an interval of seventy years, is now beginning to receive his due meed of fame; one of the first of the English physiologists who changed his views on the subject, being the able and distinguished writer, one of whose early works we have just quoted on the opposite side.

On observing a Moss in a very young state, we find the stem terminated superiorly by a very small head of narrow leaflets. On examination of these leaflets under a very high magnifying power, we find that some of them, which are larger than their neighbours, are filled with little cells, each one of which contains a minute *Antherozoon*, or small animalcule,—like the objects already so often referred to. But besides these organs, (*Antheridia*,) there are also produced, either on the same plants, or on other individuals of the same species, small appendages called *Pistillidia*; the names *Antheridia* and *Pistillidia* symbolizing a supposed resemblance between their respective functions, and those of the anthers and pistils of flowering plants. The *Pistillidium* is a small bottle-shaped object, with a long neck, having at its base a small mass of cells. Though the neck of the bottle is permeated by a canal, it has at first no terminal orifice; but, by and bye, the mouth opens, and expands like a small rosette. In time, the neck of the bottle withers away, whilst the little cellular mass at its base expands to form the future capsule, or urn. A cavity now appears in the interior of the latter, and the cells forming its walls separate into layers. The external ones constitute the extinguisher-like appendage known as the *Calyptra*, whilst the inner ones form the urn with its dehiscent *operculum* or "lid." Within the urn, are produced myriads of little spores, having all the essential properties of true seeds. As the various parts of the capsule are developed, it is elevated, in the majority of species, upon the delicate stalk, which, with its terminal urn, constitutes so elegant an object.

Hedwig distinctly enunciated the doctrine, that the *Antheridia*

* "Principles of General and Comparative Physiology."

were the male organs, and the *Pistillidia* the female organs, of Mosses; thus arriving at a sound conclusion, though he was ignorant of the valuable corroborative evidence with which modern researches have supplied us. These have not only confirmed his views, but have made us familiar with the real points of affinity between the phenomena seen in the *Cryptogamia*, and the fertilization of the *Ovule*, or young seed, of the flowering plant, by means of the pollen-grain. The discovery of the process of conjugation in the lower *Conservæ* has given the clue to the solution of the entire problem. We have learnt from it, that a more or less complete union of the contents of two cells (*i. e.*, the germ-cell and the sperm-cell, in their various forms) is essential to the development of true reproductive organs. In the flowering plant, this is accomplished by the direct influence of the contents (*fovilla*) of the pollen-grain, exerted upon the embryo-cell, developed in the interior of the young seed, which cell afterwards becomes a single young plant. In the moss, on the other hand, the immediate result of the union is not the fertilization of individual spores, or seeds, but of the cells from which the future urn or capsule is produced; which latter buds off from its interior the numerous spores destined to continue the species. Each one of these spores, when liberated by the rupture of the ripe capsule, and lodged in a fitting soil, becomes a young plant, in which all these changes again take place. This mediate mode of fertilization is not without its parallels amongst some of the lower bi-sexual animals; *e. g.*, the *Aphides*, or Plant-lice.

In this distinction between the *direct* and *mediate* fertilization of the spores, lies the germ of the mutual errors which have rendered the sexuality of the *Cryptogamia* a battle-field for fierce conflicts. Hedwig clearly demonstrated, that the spores of Mosses were not exactly seeds, though destined to fulfil similar purposes; hence he gave them the name of "spores." "The most malicious rival of his immortal fame," says Sir Edward Smith, "could not have imagined anything more subversive of that fame." The latter philosopher concluded, that because the spores were, as Hedwig had proved, the offspring of impregnation, they must be seeds, and not buds; and the error of Smith has been that of scores of his successors. On the other hand, many who were satisfied that the spores were not strictly seeds, being unable to see their way to an intermediate solution of the problem, arrived at the opposite conclusion to that of Smith, by merely reversing his argument; *i. e.*, not being true seeds, they could not be the result of a sexual union; hence, they conceived the sexuality of the *Cryptogamia* to be a mere "baseless fabric of a vision." The school that has taken up the latter position, has done so with a pertinacity that renders their conversion a hopeless task; consequently, we much regret to see, that M. Payer has damaged his otherwise excellent work by joining their ranks.

Speaking of the doctrine of Cryptogamic sexuality, whilst he admits, that "*la plupart des botanistes l'ont même déjà accepté*," he places it in the same category with the *aura seminalis*, once applied to the higher plants; which is equivalent to saying, that it is all moonshine. This is simply ridiculous. The one is a mere ideal hypothesis, without a shadow of proof. The other is supported by a mass of evidence, that is irresistible to men who do not shut their eyes. There is no parallel between the cases.

We are tempted to linger amidst these little plants, always our favourites; but limited space, and the patience of non-botanical readers, alike forbid.

Who has not revelled in the contemplation of the broad and waving fronds of the common Ferns? Nothing in the many designs exhibited at the World's Fair struck us more than the prevalence of these lovely forms, both in the woven and printed fabrics; a sure proof that, notwithstanding the low tastes which have so often made wretched designs profitable to the manufacturer, a love of the graceful is beginning to pervade the public mind.

If we examine the under side of a matured fern-leaf, we find numerous brown or golden patches embossing its surface, and thrown into various forms. Each of these consists of myriads of small spherical cases filled with spores. Each case is cellular, and so constructed that, when ripe, it splits along a medium suture, and the two halves are violently separated. This dehiscence is effected by a curious contrivance. Passing from the centre of each half, and across the line along which the box splits open, is a row of cells that are larger than the rest. The hygro-metric changes produced by the ripening process, give to these cells considerable elasticity; and since the same changes have weakened the cohesion of the cells composing the box along the line of dehiscence, the contraction of the former separates the two halves of the box, or spore-case, liberating the contained spores.*

As in the case of Mosses, attempts have alike been made to identify these spores with seeds, and to discover sexual organs in the matured fronds. All such attempts have been unsuccessful; and we owe to M. Nægeli, and an accomplished Pole, Count Suminski, the knowledge why they have been so.

It had long been known that, in its early germination, the spore of a fern produced a cellular expansion or *Thallus*,

* These spores constitute the "Fern-seed," that forms so interesting a subject of Folk-lore. If collected on the Eve of St. John, at the magic hour when the Baptist was born, it was believed to possess some marvellous virtue; though, as old Parkinson observes, in his "Theater of Plants," "*I cannot find it express what it should be*." The "seed" so gathered was supposed to render its possessor invisible, and to enable him to control the affections of those whom he wished to win; properties which caused it to figure largely in the stock in trade of the dealers in magic. In Lancashire, these legendary virtues are restricted to the spores of the *Osmunda regalis*, which is known to the country people as "St. John's Fern:" the gathering of the seed is made the subject of one of the most spirited little episodes in Bamford's "Passages from the Life of a Radical."

which existed but for a short time. It developed from one part of its surface the permanent frond; and whilst the latter was still in an incipient condition, the *Thallus* withered away. This *Thallus* was thought to be somewhat analogous to the *Cotyledons*, or seed-leaves, of flowering plants; but Count Suminski found that it bore true sexual organs. On one part of it were *Antheridia*, containing actively-moving *Antherozoa* lodged in cells; whilst, in another, were *Pistillidia*, containing Germ-cells, destined to be developed into the future fronds. He found, that these Sperm-cells, or *Antherozoa*, escaping from their prison-houses, spread themselves over the *Thallus*, some of them finding their way into each of the little hollow cavities called *Pistillidia*, through a small orifice at its summit. At the base of each cavity were the Germ-cells; and between them and the Sperm-cells some union occurs, like that between the embryo-cell in the interior of the true seed, and the *fovilla* of the pollen-grain, by which it is fertilized. The Germ-cell now begins to grow by the process of cell-division, so common amongst the lower *Algæ*; the cells multiply in number, forming a young embryo, which bursts through the surrounding *Pistillidium*, shoots up into a young frond, or leaf, and the *Thallus*, having fulfilled its functions, soon decays; the frond sending root-fibres into the ground, and assuming an independent existence.

M. Thuret is disposed to hesitate, before admitting all the phenomena described by Count Suminski, and his inferences respecting the influence of the *Antherozoa* upon the Germ-cell. But the principal observations of M. Suminski have recently been verified by Henfrey; consequently, no reasonable doubt of their essential accuracy can remain.

To comprehend the signification of the *Prothallus* of the Fern, we must glance at a less known group of plants called *Marchantiæ*. The damp walks of neglected gardens are often carpeted over with flat, leathery fronds of a dark green colour, especially in the months of March and April. These belong to the *Marchantia Polymorpha*. Another allied species, (*M. Conica*,) which arrives at perfection two or three months later, is equally common on stones and clay-banks, by the sides of ditches, bridges, and waterfalls. No forms of vegetation better repay a careful study, than these comparatively unknown objects. The frond is a large representative of the *Prothallus* of the Fern, being a flat cellular expansion; within which are curious cavities, probably subserving some purpose connected with the respiration of the plant. In the *M. Polymorpha*, the *epidermis*, or cuticle, rises up in the form of elegant cups, within which are developed numerous lenticular buds, arranged on their edges. These successively break off, and, being dispersed by the wind and rain, give birth to new plants, whilst others take their places; an additional example of multiplication by germination or budding. But, besides these buds, we find true reproductive Sperm and Germ-cells. The moving *Anthe-*

rozoa of the former were noticed by Schmidel, as early as 1747; and the latter have been shown by many writers to exist in organs presenting a close resemblance to the *Archegonia*, or *Pistillidia*, of Mosses and Ferns.

From the Germ-cells, at the base of these *Pistillidia*, after their fertilization by the *Antherozoa*, there springs up a fruit-bearing organ, (receptacle,) containing oval spore-cases. Each of these latter is filled with spores, mixed with cells, containing spiral threads, or elaters,—forming an explosive apparatus of such a nature, that if its size equalled its power, it would vie with Congreve rockets, Shrapnells, or Warner's long range! The cells are at first spherical and compressible; but, becoming elastic as they ripen, by their consentaneous action, they burst open the spore-cases, and scatter the contained spores.

Bearing in mind the phenomena presented by the *Marchantia*, it seems probable, that the *Prothallus* of the Fern, in which the sexual apparatus is developed, constitutes the true plant; and that what we recognise as the Fern, is merely a persistent bud-bearing organ, corresponding with the receptacle of the *Marchantia*, the urn-like capsule of the Moss, and the *Pileus* of the Mushroom; but which, instead of having a brief existence, and requiring to be reproduced annually, as in the cases referred to, is a perennial growth, though the fronds themselves die down each year. There remains a permanent stock, from which bud-bearing fronds annually spring up, without any further indications of sexuality. The true plant arrived at its maturity, when the Germ and Sperm-cells made their appearance; and when these had fulfilled their functions in producing a bud-bearing organ,—whether temporary or persistent, matters not,—they withered away.

There seems much reason for giving a similar account of the early growth of *Equiseta*, or Mares'-tails, growing at the margins of ponds, in hedge-rows, and in corn-fields. M. Thuret has shown, that in these, also, the *Antheridia* and *Pistillidia* are developed on *Prothalli* closely resembling those of the Fern, living only for a few weeks; and that from the fertilized *Pistillidia* of this *Prothallus* springs the object, commonly known, to botanists, as the *Equisetum*, or perfect plant; but which, like the Fern-frond, appears rather to be a reproductive apparatus, capable of developing numerous buds, without the intervention of any further fertilization than what was accomplished in the *Prothallus*.

The history of the Club-mosses, (*Lycopodia*), so common on our mountains and upland moors, is as yet too little understood, to enable us to take them into consideration. That they produce spores, which develope into *Prothalli*, is certain. On these *Prothalli*, the Germ-cells exist in *Pistillidia*; whilst, according to M. Hoffmeister, some of the spores develope *Antherozoa* in Sperm-cells; but the exact relation between these two classes of cells remains to be determined. Sufficient has been done by M.

Hoffmeister, to justify us in supposing, that when we become as familiar with the reproduction of the *Lycopodia*, as we are with that of the other Cryptogamic plants, we shall find in them precisely the same evidences of sexuality that we meet with elsewhere.

In the singular freshwater plants, known as *Charæ*, remarkable for the curious circulation observable within the cells or joints composing them, the two classes of reproductive organs distinctly exist,—the Sperm-cells, containing *Antherozoa*; and the Germ-cells, giving birth to the spore, from which springs the young plant. As in the case of the *Lycopodia*, the influence exercised by the former of these cells upon the latter, has not been traced; but no reasonable doubt can exist, that their functions are the same as in the Mosses and Ferns.

We have now briefly glanced at some of the more important physiological phenomena presented by Cryptogamic plants. We do not flatter ourselves with the idea, that we have made the subject intelligible to those of our readers, who are wholly ignorant of it; that is scarcely possible, without the aid of the pictorial illustrations, that abound in the various monographs on the subject. But, in our opinion, the *Cryptogamia* present by far the most important field for the investigation of botanical phenomena; and that in which the most striking discoveries are being made, as well as the most entire revolution of pre-existing notions is being effected.

To the revived doctrines of Hedwig we acknowledge ourselves to be complete converts. However incomplete may be the evidence in many individual *genera*, we have now amply sufficient proof of the sexuality of the *Cryptogamia*, as a whole, to satisfy any observer, who has not placed his reason in commission, and allowed others to think for him. The question is not whether these plants have anthers and pistils, like the flowering forms, but whether they develop what are essentially Germ-cells and Sperm-cells. Taking into consideration the functions of these two structures, we must conclude that we possess abundant evidence of their existence amongst the *Cryptogamia*. We regret that so little of the labour of investigating these phenomena is being done by the more distinguished of our English Botanists, so many of whom remain sceptical on the subject in question. We cannot but think, that they under-rate the importance of these studies, when compared with that of the Flowering Plants. On this point, Dr. Carpenter has set them a good example, which they will do well to follow: let them prove themselves the worthy successors of Robert Brown, and not allow his mantle to fall solely upon the Thurets, Suminskis, and Hoffmeisters, who are working with such glorious success on the other side of the Channel.

Whilst on this subject, we may notice, in passing, the superiority of our continental neighbours in the style of their pictorial illustrations. Let any one, for a moment, contrast the finished

beauty that characterizes the plates to the admirable *Memoirs* of MM. Thuret and Decaisné, in the "*Annales des Sciences Naturelles*," with the coarse, unmeaning daubs that figure in the volume on Lichens, published by the Ray Society. The former are as exquisite as the latter are execrable: in the one, all the improvements of modern art have been made subservient to the cause of science; whilst, in the other, the lithographs might have been some of Senefelder's earliest efforts.

Mr. Ralfs' volume is a beautiful specimen of what such a monograph ought to be. The descriptions are clear, and the illustrations good. We cannot say so much of Mr. Hassall's production. It is true, some of his *genera* are awkward ones to grapple with; but we defy any one to make out a very large number of his species; and most of his illustrations of the *Desmidiæ* are but bad copies of those previously published by Mr. Ralfs, in the "*Annals of Natural History*."

None of the English publications on the *Cryptogamia* surpass, and few equal, that of Professor Harvey on the Sea-weeds. It comprehends all the excellencies that render such publications honourable to the nations in which they are produced; proving itself to be the work of a philosopher, who is master of his subject; whilst the illustrations are the best of the kind that have been produced by British naturalists. The new edition of Professor Balfour's "*Manual*" is also an excellent and useful work. We are glad to see that in it he has given more prominence to the philosophy of the *Cryptogamia*, than he did in the corresponding part of his first edition; and, also, that he is disposed to appreciate the evidences of Cryptogamic sexuality. We trust that the second part, when it appears, will carry out the improvement, by illustrating the various groups of the *Cryptogamia* in a more ample manner than was done in his original work. The woodcuts are fairly executed, though still inferior to those of M. Payer.

ART. V.—1. *Sights and Sounds: the Mystery of the Day: comprising an Entire History of the American "Spirit" Manifestations.* By HENRY SPICER, Esq. London: Thomas Bosworth.

2. *Table qui danse et Table qui répond. Expériences à la portée de tout le monde. Traduit sur des Publications Allemandes.* Brussels: Mayer.

3. *La Danse des Tables.* Par FERDINAND SILAS. Suivie de *Considérations sur les Rappites.* Brussels: J. B. Tarride.

THERE have been many popular delusions, but none more monstrous, nor more widely spread, than the delusion which is now agitating the minds of men in America, Germany, France, and

England, of pretended "spiritual manifestations." There are many points of peculiarity about this mania, one of the most remarkable being the nature of the minds which give it implicit credence; for the believers are not merely idle, gaping, curious, wondering "fashionables," susceptible women, and enthusiastic visionaries, but also grave men, authors, judges, clergymen, men of science, and—most surprising of all!—professed "infidels!" Men who believe in nothing else, believe in this;—men who declare God to be a delusion, and immortality a dream, believe in Mrs. Hayden, and the trash of which she is the *medium*! * And side by side with these men stand the religious, who hail this new "manifestation" as the advent of a new "spiritual era;" who regard it in the light of corroborative proof of Holy Writ, and do not see the monstrous incompatibility between the teachings of Scripture and the suppositions involved in spirit-rapping. The rapidity with which this delusion has spread, is as remarkable as anything else about it. No sooner does it make its appearance in any circle, than it is received with shouts of laughter;—the laughers, however, are persuaded to give it a trial;—it succeeds, (as, indeed, being a trick, and a very simple trick, it is on the cards that it should succeed,)—and then the laughing sceptic is turned into a devout convert,—his incredulity is replaced by a credulity as rash;—and if you attempt to explain to him the trick upon which it depends, he regards you with something of the angry bitterness which he would feel towards you, if you were disturbing his most deeply rooted and cherished convictions!

Let us remember, however, in extenuation of those who believe,—and, as we must think, believe on very imperfect evidence,—that the belief is kept up, on the one hand, by the extreme simplicity of the trick upon which spirit-rapping depends,—a simplicity so great, that men with difficulty bring themselves to conceive it possible such a trick should escape detection,—and, on the other hand, by the startling nature of the revelations which constrain belief. When a man sits down to a table, and asks a supposed invisible spirit a *mental* question, receiving a correct answer,—we can easily understand his surprise; and if no one present, save himself, could have known what the question was, and yet the answer turn out correct, "How," it will be asked, "could the *medium*, or any other person, (being an impostor,) have read that question, and given the correct answer? Yet this has occurred frequently; answers have been given which it is totally impossible the *medium* should have been in a condition to give; questions written down, and seen by no eye, save that of the writer, have been answered with accuracy." We admit it all. It seems wonderful, but is only wonderful to those who are

* The person who acts as the connecting link between the human querist, and the supposed spiritual respondent, is called the *medium*.

unaware that the *answers are in reality given by the questioner himself, and not at all by the medium.*

Although we cannot help regarding the "spirit-rappings" as an ignoble imposture, and must needs view its spread amongst our intelligent circles with a feeling of sadness at the implied irreverence and the explicit credulity which accompany it, we see in it, as in all other delusions, abundant matter for philosophic instruction. It will teach the inquirer something. If it do not admit him within the arcana of the spirit-world, it will carry him into the mazes of human folly. Mr. Henry Spicer, in the strange jumble which he has brought together under the title of "*Sights and Sounds*," tells us that he began as a sceptic, but,—

"Let it suffice to say that I have seen, heard, and learned enough, to force me irresistibly—even against my will—to the conclusion that the mystery in question has its origin in no mechanical skill—in no human intelligence, however shrewd and penetrative—in no hitherto recognised law of physics—in no material organism whatever.

"It is calculated that there are, at the present moment, not less than *thirty thousand* recognised *media* practising in various parts of the United States. A friend, who writes under date of July 17th, assures me, that in the City of Philadelphia alone, may be found no fewer than three hundred magnetic circles, holding regular meetings, and receiving communications. And, let it be remarked, that the majority of the parties alluded to are neither needy, illiterate, nor obscure, but members of highly respectable families, entertaining no views of pecuniary profit, nor, as far as can be seen, deriving any possible advantage from the exhibitions in question. Another American friend,—himself originally a most determined sceptic,—whose interesting communication will be found, *in extenso*, at a future page, writes:—'The most astonishing circumstance connected with the subject, to my mind, is, that so large a number of persons seem to have adopted the system into their most familiar daily experience; and use *it*, with as little apparent idea of its extraordinary character, as they do the post-office or the telegraph! I saw persons come in, with an ordinary business countenance, ask their question of the spirit summoned to the table, and go off again, as well satisfied with their answer, as though it were in words from the lips or hand of their living partner in business.'—Pp. 4, 5.

Mr. Spicer adopts the old cuckoo-cry of "*Galileo*," and declares that "this new philosophy, if it be anything at all, is a subject for the consideration, not of cliques and classes, but of mankind,—a question, not of nations, but of worlds;" and, "Let us at least hope," he says, "that the foul spirit of ignorance and prejudice which put Galileo to the torture for a true discovery, and in a later age nicknamed the first American steam-boat '*Fulton's folly*,' is not to be resuscitated in enlightened Britain."

We are weary of this Galileo-cry. Because Galileo proclaimed a truth, and met with the fate of all great teachers, every noodle who conceives a new extravagance,—every inventor who constructs even a new coffee-pot,—instantly ranks himself beside

Galileo, if his extravagance or his coffee-pot be not instantly adopted by a "persecuting world." It is one thing to stifle inquiry, and persecute the inquirer; another thing, to confront new schemes with the light of reason, or—if need be—ridicule. Since people are talking about the "philosophic attitude of mind" necessary for the reception of this, as of every other new doctrine, let us remind them, that although it may be a reasonable caution, not to *disbelieve* any new fact because we cannot account for it, (for *our* ability to explain things should never be taken as a test of their reality,) yet, on the other hand, it is an equally reasonable caution, not to *believe* in any new fact, simply because we cannot account for it: if ignorance is no just ground of disbelief, neither is it just ground of belief,—a sequence too often overlooked. Moreover, there is this great distinction to be borne in mind, namely, the distinction between *facts* and *inferences*. I may have abundant evidence for my belief in a fact, but no sort of evidence for belief in the inference, hypothesis, or doctrine, which you suppose that fact to prove. I may believe, for instance, that disease is cured by such an instrument as Perkins's "Metallic Tractor." I see the man cured; and when these "tractors" are used in hospitals with success, it is unreasonable of me to doubt the *fact*. But in believing, or granting the *fact*, what do I grant? Simply this: that a man afflicted with rheumatism is very much better, after some one has pointed at him for a little time with a "metallic tractor." The *inference*, however, that this "metallic tractor" has in itself some specific and curative power,—is not at all proven. Other evidence is required before it can be accepted; and in the case referred to, the falsity of the inference was proved by that sceptical physician who employed tractors made of wood, painted to *resemble* metal, and with these wooden tractors did everything which the metallic tractors were supposed to perform; proving by this, and by experiments with metallic tractors on animals, that the *fact* of cure was no conclusive evidence for the inference supposed to follow, but was evidence, rather, of the extraordinary power of imagination. The rheumatic patient, *believing in the virtue* of the metallic tractors, was cured as well with the false tractors as the real; that is to say, he was cured by *neither*, but by his imagination.

We cite this, as one amongst many illustrations of the rule, that belief in a fact should not entail, as a consequence, belief in the supposed agency. Thus, although we may perfectly credit many of the marvellous accounts which have reached us of "spirit-rappings," we are wrong to assume that *therefore* the spirits were actually present. As in the case of the "tractors" it was the imagination of the patient, so in this case of "spirit-rapping" it is the consciousness of the questioner; and that it is so, may be proved in a very simple way. Let the questioner request the *medium* to hold the card herself, and let *her* point to the letters,

while the questioner remains at some distance from her; and he will then find, that the *medium*, (if she consent to the experiment,) being deprived of his assistance, will *not* be able to give answers at all approaching to correctness; whereas, if it really were the spirits who answered, they would as readily answer the *medium*, when *she* tapped, as the questioner when *he* tapped. But if, on the contrary, as we assert, it is the questioner who by his manner indicates to the *medium*, when he expects a tap to be heard, of course, if he be merely a bystander, and the *medium* be left without his assistance, then no correct answer will be given.

It is because men do not recognise sufficiently this distinction between the fact and the inference, that we hear so much of the conversion of sceptics. A man tells you that he "approached the subject as complete a sceptic as you can be, but his scepticism vanished before the evidence of the facts." By this he means that at first he simply disbelieved the facts stated to him; whereas what he should have disbelieved was the inference, or hypothesis, by which these facts were explained. There are few false facts in the world, compared with the number of false theories; but men habitually reserve their scepticism for the facts, and their credulity for the theory.

Now, what are the facts in this case? There is first the fact, that when persons are sitting round a table, a *medium* being present, certain raps are heard. You have been told before, that these raps are the signs made by spirits; and your imagination has been more or less predisposed, both by the marvellous accounts you have heard from others, and by the quiet and assured way in which the *medium* talks of the spirits. As, moreover, these raps are very peculiar in sound, and are produced by an agency which you cannot easily detect, your mind rushes on, from the *simple fact of a sound heard*, to the *inference that the sound is produced by a spirit*.

Let us now proceed to the second stage. You are told that the spirits are present, and are willing to answer any questions; and you *do* receive a correct answer to a question put. That is the fact; but observe,—*that*, and that only, is the fact; the inference begins when you leave the narrow basis of fact, and rush on to conclude that the answer was given you by the spirit. Here lies the source of the fallacy. The facts are unquestionable; it is in the explanations of those facts that the cautious thinker will find cause for hesitation.

Given the facts, let us ask, as a question of mere probability, Whether it be *more likely* that the raps and the answers should be given *by spirits*, whose presence requires to be proved, than *by the medium*, aided by the suggestions of the questioner? This question we consider Mr. Lewes to have settled.* He proved that the answers were suggested to the *medium* by the manner

* See his account of an interview with Mrs. Hayden, in the "Leader," No. 155.

of the questioner; and not only proved it positively, by making her give whatever answers he pleased,—no matter how fantastic,—but also proved it negatively; that is, proved the presence of spirits to be a pretence, by summoning one of the *Eumenides*, (who intimated that she died a few years ago in the *Jewish* faith,) the *ghost of Semiramis*, (who intimated that she had *seventeen noses*!) the *ghost of Pontius Pilate*; (who intimated that he was a *leading tragedian*!) and all the ghosts thus summoned and interrogated behaved precisely as other spirits behaved. The answer to this crushing *exposé* has usually been, that the spirits “perceived Mr. Lewes’ intent, and, like so many wags, determined to deceive *him*, who tried to deceive *them*.” But, if we understood Mr. Lewes rightly, his intention was, *not* to deceive spirits, in whose presence he could not believe,—but Mrs. Hayden, of whose good faith he had very strong suspicions. Moreover, the proof that it is the questioner himself who furnishes the answer, however unconsciously, is seen in this:—whenever the questioner remains perfectly passive, no correct answer is given; if he do not linger at the letters he expects to be indicated,—if he do not, by his agitation of manner, or suspension of breath, or by any other of the thousand and one indications which suffice to an acute *medium*, afford a guiding hint,—no correct answer will be given; whereas, if he linger at certain letters, or feign the expectation in any other way, the letters which he selects will be indicated, so that the most monstrous absurdities come up in the shape of answers. This we have proved over and over again; and this any of our readers may prove also, with a little ordinary circumspection.

At any rate, even supposing that our explanation of the trick be inaccurate, we still return to our old position, and say, that, given the facts, you still require evidence for your inference. The fact of raps being heard, and the fact of questions being answered, are not sufficient to prove that the raps and the answers came from spirits: it is there we lack evidence. American and English neophytes, however, require no such evidence. With them the fact carries the inference as a necessary consequence; and as to evidence, they are at no loss for any amount you please. They find abundance of collateral evidence in ancient history, and even in the Holy Bible. Turning over some of the papers devoted to this subject, published in America, (for you must understand that these spiritualists, besides pamphlets and bulky volumes, have several weekly organs,) we find the Bible brought forward in the most irreverent and preposterous manner, as may be seen in the following extravagant specimens:—

“SPIRITUAL HANDWRITING PROVED BY THE BIBLE.

“IN the account of Belshazzar’s impious feast, contained in Dan. v. 5, there are these words, viz.: ‘In the same hour came forth *fingers of a man’s hand*, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the

plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the *part of the hand that wrote.* Was not this spiritual writing? What else could it have been? The *fingers of a man's hand were seen writing by the king himself.* And Daniel was called in to interpret it.

"Is not this a full confirmation that the Bible sustains the doctrine of *spiritual writing*? And if the Bible asserts it, it must be true. Let the objector to *spiritual manifestations* in this form answer this if he can.

"WILLIAM S. ANDREWS."

Again:—

"VOCAL UTTERANCES OF SPIRITS.

"UNDER this head, Mr. Brittan, in his second letter to Dr. Richmond, cites the following cases from the Scriptures:—

"In the Book of Genesis we have an account of the expulsion of Hagar and her son from the house of Abraham. They were driven into the wilderness, and left to wander without the means of subsistence; and Hagar, in despair, sat down and wept, saying, 'Let me not see the death of the child.' Then an angel 'called to her out of heaven,' or from above, and ministered to her wants.

"In Numbers xxii. we have a remarkable account of the appearance of an angelic personage to Balaam. The presence of the spirit was indicated by his wonderful control of the organs over the beast,—the dumb animal, whereon the magician rode, being impelled to speak in an audible and intelligent manner.

"Elijah was a medium for spiritual communications. It is related in the nineteenth chapter of the First Book of Kings, that a spirit came to him, and directed him to take food before starting on a journey to Mount Horeb. Subsequently, and during his stay in the mountain, he was again addressed in a 'still, small voice,' which, according to the account, emanated from an inhabitant of the spirit-world.

"In the fourth chapter of Job we have the following sublime description of an interview with a spirit: 'In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up. It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof: an image was before mine eyes; and there was a silence, and I heard a voice saying: Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker?' In this case the sense of hearing appears to have been most successfully addressed, the occult presence being but imperfectly disclosed to the vision. There was an image before the eye, but it was dim and shadowy, the precise outline not being distinguishable.

"In the fourth chapter of Daniel it is said, that while the King of Babylon was vainly boasting of the magnitude of his power and the glory of his empire, 'there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O King Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; the kingdom is departed from thee,' &c. Agreeably to the narrative, the king was immediately driven from his palace to herd with the beasts of the field; and thus the prediction was signally verified.

"Saul, being on his journey to Damascus, to prosecute the believers in spiritualism, was suddenly arrested by spiritual agency, and he heard a voice saying unto him, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?'

There are many similar examples recorded in the Jewish Scriptures, but I must have recourse to other authors and to the unpublished records of the human experience for further illustrations."

And, further, we find among the resolutions passed at the Worcester (U. S.) "Spiritual Convention :"—

"*Resolved*, That the opposition to the Spiritualism of the Modern Manifestations (based on the Automatic or Od-principles) bears, with equal force, against the Spirituality of the demonstrations recorded in the Bible; and true candour will not separate the ancient from the modern in its investigations.

"*Resolved*, That the kindest feeling and the most perfect charity should be exercised towards those who may be more under the control of an ignorant love than an expanded wisdom.

"*Resolved*, That we recognise the hand of God in raising up a new class of teachers; who, freed from the trammels of past sects in philosophy and religion, are prepared correctly to appreciate and successfully propagate truth; and we recommend to the friends of Spiritualism to secure the services of those teachers, wherever it is practicable."

Nay, so easy are men's minds on the score of evidence, that Robert Owen finds in spirit-rapping corroborative proof of the truth of his scheme for perfecting society! and because the spirits declared his scheme to be the right one, he considered *that* to be evidence of their genuineness, and therefore became a convert! The reader will smile, sadly perhaps, perhaps scornfully, as his eye passes over the following extract from the

"MANIFESTO OF ROBERT OWEN TO ALL GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES.

"PEACE, CHARITY, LOVE, UNION, AND PROGRESS, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS OF THE EARTH.

"A GREAT moral revolution is about to be effected for the human race, and by an apparent miracle!

"Strange and incredible as it will at first appear,—communications, most important and gratifying, have been made to great numbers in America and to many in this country, through manifestations, by invisible but audible powers, purporting to be from departed spirits; and to me, especially, from President Jefferson,—Benjamin Franklin,—His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent,—Grace Fletcher, my first and most enlightened disciple,—and many members of my own family, Welch and Scotch.

"No one who knows me will attribute superstition to me, or want of moral courage to investigate truth, and to follow it wherever it may lead.

"I have honestly and fearlessly applied my best faculties to examine the religions, laws, governments, institutions, and classifications, of all nations and peoples, and I have found them all to be based on a fundamental principle of error, which pervades the whole, and which, in consequence, produces, in each of these divisions of society, evil instead of good.

"I have applied all my powers of mind so as honestly and fearlessly to investigate these new manifestations, said to be made by departed spirits, from another advanced state of our existence.

"Until the commencement of this investigation, a few weeks since, I believed that all things are eternal, but that there is a constant change in combinations and their results, and that there was no personal or conscious existence after death.

"By investigating the history of these manifestations in America, and subsequently, as will be narrated, through the proceedings of an American *medium*, by whose peculiar organization manifestations are obtained, I have been compelled, contrary to my previous strong convictions, to believe in a future conscious state of life, existing in a refined material, or what is called a spiritual, state; and that, from the natural progress of creation, these departed spirits have attained the power to communicate their feelings and knowledge to us living upon the earth, by various means.

"From the communications which have been made to me, through the aid of this American *medium*, from Jefferson, Franklin, Grace Fletcher, and the father of our present Sovereign, I am informed that these new manifestations, or revelations, from the spiritual, or, more truly, the refined material, world, are made for the purpose of changing the present false, disunited, and miserable state of human existence, for a true, united, and happy state, to arise from a new universal education, or formation of character, from birth, to be based on truth, and conducted in accordance with the established laws of human nature."

This striking paradox, of a man, so many years a "sceptic," suddenly becoming a believer in a foolish and impudent fiction, leads us to remark, that the terms "sceptic," and "sceptical mind," are habitually misused. There are very few sceptical minds; for there are few things of which men are more impatient than of doubt. He is not a sceptic who simply denies Christianity to be true; he is not a sceptic who—having read in some book, or heard from some teacher, that there is no life beyond the grave—dogmatically denies all immortality: he may be as credulous and *unsceptical* as the veriest fanatic: the only difference between him and the orthodox believer is, that the orthodox believer believes *one* thing to be true, and he believes *another* thing to be true! But that calm equipoise of judgment, keeping the mind open to truth, not swaying hither and thither according to the impulse of impatience or of prejudice,—that weighing of evidence which, properly speaking,* constitutes the sceptical mind,—is very rarely met with; and, however paradoxical it may appear, that "infidels," as they are called, should believe in spirit-rapping, it is only a paradox, because the term "sceptic" is so misunderstood. We could not easily pick out a man more credulous than Robert Owen, as his persistent belief in his own foolish scheme amply proves.

Something more surprising than Owen's credulity, however, is that of Judge Edmonds, an American lawyer of considerable standing. We will quote Mr. Spicer's account of his conversion.

* That is, according to the *etymological*, not the *ordinary* and *conventional*, meaning of the word *sceptical*.—Ed.

"It seems that, up to the early part of 1851, Judge Edmonds had always entertained the conviction, that intercourse with the spirits of the departed was impossible; and, possessing, unhappily, no very definite notions of the future life at a, was, as might be expected, as ready as any one to scoff at the spiritual intercourse now assumed to be established.

"His first experience of the kind was in December, 1850, some few weeks subsequent to the death of his wife, to whom he was warmly attached, and by whose loss he had been deeply affected. He was, at this time, residing alone; two of his daughters being married, and the third at school. One night, when the servants had retired to bed, he was reclining upon a sofa, reading. Suddenly, he distinctly heard the voice of his wife addressing a sentence to him. As he himself described the incident, he started up, as if he had received a shot, and, gazing eagerly around him, half expected that the speaker would reveal herself to his eyes. His lamp was burning, and the fire blazed cheerfully in the grate. Nothing unusual was visible; and, persuading himself that it was a delusion, originating in grief and want of rest, he presently lay down again. Still, reason as he would, the impression that it was a *real* voice continued and strengthened daily; while, like a true philosopher, he studied and analysed the operations of his own mind, in the hope of ascertaining *why* it was, that the impression was stronger than were the conclusions of his reason.

"In December, he removed into the city, hoping to derive some benefit from change of scene and occupation; and it was in the ensuing month that a lady, a friend of his late wife, invited him to her house to witness the 'spiritual manifestations,' stating that she had been impressed for several days to do so, and, during that time, had *felt* the continued presence of Mrs. Edmonds in a remarkable manner, the idea of her departed friend mingling with every action and circumstance of her daily life. The Judge, though without the slightest faith, and with little curiosity, in the matter, accepted the invitation. The interview was brief; yet several things occurred which at once rivetted his attention. He ascertained that the sounds he heard were not, and could not be, produced by the persons present. He saw, moreover, that there was *intelligence* in them. In short, his curiosity was fairly excited; and he resolved to investigate the subject, and, if there were imposture, to detect it. The worthy Judge, however, must have been one of the hardest bargains ever made by the unseen intelligences,—a subject of the very toughest kind! He kept very full and careful records of all he witnessed,—a duty which his habits of reporting enabled him to fulfil with ease and accuracy; he compared the proceedings of different days, in order to detect any lurking inconsistencies or contradictions; he sought for different *media*, thus precluding the possibility of concert of action, and only 'finally yielded his belief when no sane mind could withhold it longer.'

"The Judge had, it seems, commenced his investigations by demanding *proofs*,—proofs that the matter was deserving of investigation at all; and this tolerably high ground being conceded to him, by certain mystifying phenomena, he went further, and requested to be furnished with evidence that the affair was altogether super-terrestrial, and that those who professed to be his interlocutors from the spirit world were, really and truly, those whom they pretended to be.

'What proofs did he require?' The experienced lawyer was not to be caught with so hollow a device. He handled the case in a legal manner. It was not for him to call witnesses to the good character of his opponents; nor, by indicating the precise nature of what would convince him most, suggest to them the means of his own conversion. Proofs he must have, and good ones too, or they might be off about their business, and seek out more credulous subjects for their experiments in mechanico-metaphysics.

"Strange to say, so far from resisting this sturdy scepticism, the more *exigeant* the Judge became, the more the 'other party' (we must use general terms) conceded; and he was promised, in plain words, proofs that could not, and should not, fail utterly to annihilate his slightest misgiving. It was clear that he was, at any price, to be won. Nevertheless, it appears that the Judge held gallantly out,—meeting, with the calm sense of a really clever man, and the quick penetrative discernment of the practised lawyer, such minor appeals to his credulity as were comprised in rappings, table-tippings, &c., or in vague communications purporting to proceed from the extra-mundane sphere. He certainly heard the sounds, and saw the movements, and *that*, as in the case of everybody else, without being able to refer them to any satisfactory origin. But the Judge remembered the pledge he had received; and, knowing that the 'spirits' were bound to prove their whole case, wisely refused to accept any instalment. He would receive it in its entirety, or not at all. These matters amounted to a mystery, and nothing more. They were simply puzzling, and only retarded the march of the grand *éclaircissement* he had been distinctly promised, and which he now claimed.

"*Qui s'arrête à chaque pierre, n'arrive jamais,*' thought the Judge; and he would doubtless have grown weary of results which perpetually fell short of his high expectations, had not an event at last occurred, which was destined to work an entire change in his views and feelings, and make him, as has been said, not only a believer, but a participator, in the extraordinary demonstrations now challenging the wonder of the community.

"On the 21st of May, in the present year, a meeting, for the purpose of spiritual investigation, took place at the house of Mr. Charles Partridge, of New York, a gentleman who had devoted much time and attention to such inquiries, and promoted, as far as possible, every attempt then making to arrive at a proper understanding of the much vexed subject in question. The account of what transpired at the meeting referred to is taken from the elaborate report furnished by himself to the New-York journals.

"It seems that there were present about fifteen to twenty persons, among whom may be mentioned the names of Judge Edmonds himself, Dr. and Mrs. Grey, Mr. E. Fowler and his sister, Mrs. Fox and her daughters, Messrs. Gordon, Cooley, J. Partridge, &c., &c. Rappings were heard, and a communication from the 'spirits' requested the company to play on a piano in the room. This was done, the raps beating accurate time to the measure. Mr. Gordon, who was a *medium*, was thrown into a magnetic sleep, during which he gave utterance to some remarks directed against the too ready yielding to sister-superstitions with those which, in past ages, obstructed the advance of Gospel light, and the pure influx of the Holy Spirit.

"While this was proceeding, sounds were occasionally heard on the door and sides of the apartment, as loud as could be produced by a violent 'pounding' with a man's fist. The table at which Mr. Partridge was employed in taking notes, was several times moved from its place; and a chair, which stood outside of the circle, and several feet distant from any one present, was moved up to the circle, and back again, placed on its side, &c. &c.

"These, however, were the usual phenomena, and of such frequent occurrence that they excited but little interest. In the present case, they proved to be but the prologue to demonstrations of a most astounding character, and such as, I am fully aware, will tax to the utmost the faith of the uninitiated in the veracity of those upon whose concurrent testimony these facts were subsequently made public.

"At the stage of the proceedings last alluded to, it was proposed by some one to darken the room, in order to try whether the lights or sparkles, known frequently to accompany the manifestations in former instances, would be perceptible. It was accordingly done; and the lights were observed at different times, and in different parts of the room, sometimes resembling phosphorescent flames,—sometimes forming luminous clouds, moving about,—sometimes like glistening stars, crystals, or diamonds. Physical demonstrations increased in variety and force, and continued for three hours, 'during which,' says Mr. Partridge, *'the Judge seemed to be in the possession of the spirits.'* Many things occurred to him, which he mentioned, that he alone could be conscious of; though we could perceive that something extraordinary was going on with and around him. Many things, however, also occurred, which all could witness.

"The card-table before mentioned began to move with violent force from one side of our circle (which was large) to the other, rocking, and rising up, and coming down; and, finally, the leaf was shut up, the cover turned round to its place: the table was gently turned upside down, and laid at our feet. In this situation, myself and others took hold of it, and ascertained its position; and, after a short interval, it was turned up, the leaf opened, and the table placed as before. A chair which stood outside of our circle, and several feet from any one, was suddenly moved up to the circle, and back, rocked, and finally, with great rapidity, conveyed from one end of the room to the other, winding its way among the people who sat there without touching them, and yet, at times, passing with fearful rapidity within an inch or two of our persons.

"Some of the party, among whom was Judge Edmonds, were requested to go into another closet from that where Gordon was, where there was a guitar, bass-viol, and violin, each of which was played upon, separately at first, and, finally, all together, in marked time, which was beat out by raps, sometimes upon the viols, floor, ceiling, &c., the bow often touching the persons there.

"Afterwards, the bass-viol and violin were raised above their heads, and out of their reach; (except one end, which sometimes rested on their hand, head, or shoulder, often changing;) and in this position they were played and rapped upon as by human fingers, and the time marked as before.

"A dinner bell on the shelf was raised up, and rung over their heads; then taken out into the parlour, and carried round the room,

ringing over the heads of fifteen or twenty persons, sitting in the circle there, and then into the adjoining parlour, (where there was no person,) and carried nearly its length, and dropped on the floor some fifteen or twenty feet from any human being. Another small bell was taken off the shelf, rung, and placed into, and taken out of, the hands of several persons. A pocket-handkerchief was taken from the Judge's pocket, and tied into many knots, and put back again; a table-brush was taken from the shelf, and put into the hands of several persons successively, and taken out again, and their hair brushed with it.

"From this period, the Judge became a regular member of the magnetic circle; and, at a meeting somewhat subsequent to the above, it was announced to him, that he would shortly be himself a *medium*, and that, too, under circumstances which would enable him to record, and give to the world, such communications as he might receive. This promise is understood to have been realized. The Judge became clairvoyant, or, as he expressed it, 'found in his mind' certain scenes or visions relating to the spiritual world, in all of which scenes actors and incidents were as vividly pictured as though presented to his outward senses. These occur as well by day as by night, and only require that external objects be shut out by closing the eyes. Certain of these visions, or 'revelations,' have been made public, from time to time, and are, as has been justly observed of them, eminently practical in their character, and containing sentiments that cannot be unacceptable to the most pure and humble Christian. The lessons they teach are those of love and kindness, and address themselves to the calm, deliberate reason of man, asking from him no blind faith, but a careful inquiry and a deliberate judgment.

"That the effect of the 'manifestations' has, in this instance, at least, been fraught with advantage, is proved by the change said to be worked in the Judge's mind and manner. From being irascible and exorbitant at times, he has become calm and moderate; from being occasionally stern and unyielding, he has become kind and gentle; from being a doubter as to the future, he has become well grounded in the belief of man's immortality, and his redemption through the mercy of God; and he has found in spiritual intercourse, not merely matter to gratify an idle curiosity, or responses to vain and frivolous inquiries, but wisdom most profound, knowledge most interesting, and morality most pure and elevating, as all may find who will seek with an earnest desire for truth, and with minds open to its reception."—Pp. 114-124.

It is fair that we should borrow from Mr. Spicer some account of one of these spiritual *séances*, and we choose one at which several well-known persons were present.

"Mrs. Fish and the Misses Fox now visited New York City, whither, it is almost needless to say, their fame had preceded them; and there, as in Rochester, every conceivable test was applied, in a manner to satisfy the most sceptical. The ladies were disrobed, and subjected to the most searching investigation, by a female committee chosen for that purpose, who reported to their constituents that the sounds in question *could not*, by any possibility, emanate from the parties themselves.

"The Rev. Dr. Griswold, who had hitherto remained wholly

incredulous as to the alleged preternatural origin of the manifestations, now determined to investigate the facts of the case for himself; and with that view assembled a small party at his house in Broadway. The circle was composed of gentlemen of high character and intelligence,—persons who, probably without exception, had no prepossession in favour of the principal actors in the scene, and who even numbered among them several avowed sceptics.

"Among those present were the late Mr. J. Fenimore Cooper, Mr. George Bancroft, the Rev. Dr. Hawkes, Dr. J. W. Francis, Dr. Marcy, Mr. N. P. Willis, Mr. Bryant, Mr. Bigdon, Mr. Richard Kimball, Mr. H. T. Tuckerman, and General Lyman.

"In order to prevent any suspicion as to the arrangement of the room, the furniture, closets, &c., the *r union* was appointed, as has been mentioned, at Dr. Griswold's own dwelling, which neither of the ladies had ever entered before. A little past eight o'clock, Mrs. Fox and her three daughters, accompanied by two gentlemen of Rochester, made their appearance. For some time—perhaps half an hour—no sounds were heard, and the company began to exhibit obvious symptoms of impatience. They were then requested to draw nearer the table, which was in front of the ladies, and form themselves into a compact circle. Soon after, faint sounds began to be heard from under the floor, around the table, and in different parts of the room. They increased in loudness and frequency, becoming clear and distinct, while no one could deny their presence, nor trace them to any visible cause. The question was now asked, 'Will the spirits converse with any one present?' No satisfactory answer was obtained, though there was a general rumbling succession of sounds, the purport of which appeared to be ambiguous to those who professed to be most conversant with the language. The question was then put more definitely with regard to several gentlemen present. After a good deal of coquetting, it was said that replies would be given to any questions proposed by Dr. Marcy. He inquired whether the spirit with whom he wished to converse was a relation,—was a child,—and what was its age at the time of its death. We understood Dr. Marcy to say that the answers were correct; but nothing worthy of special notice was elicited.

"Mr. Henry T. Tuckerman was the next to propound inquiries, which, contrary to the usual custom, he expressed audibly, so as to be heard by the ladies and the whole company. Having fixed in his mind the name of an individual, he asked, 'Did he live in New York?' No answer. 'In Baltimore? In Cambridge? In Boston?' Three distinct raps. Mr. T. continued: 'Was he a lawyer? A merchant? A physician? A Clergyman?' Knocks. 'Was he an Episcopalian? A Presbyterian? A Unitarian?'—going over the names of the principal sects. No answer. At the suggestion of a gentleman, Mr. T. asked, 'Was he a Christian?' Knocks. Mr. T. then asked the age of the person in a series of tens. 'Was he twenty years old at the time of his death? Was he thirty? Fifty? Sixty?' Knocks. 'Has he left a family?' Knocks. 'Children?' Knocks. 'Five? Three? Two?' Knocks. 'Did he die in Boston? In Philadelphia? In Albany? In Northampton? Bennington?' Knocks. 'Did he die of consumption? Of fever? Of cholera? Of old age?' Knocks.

"The person in the querist's mind was the late Rev. Dr. Channing, of Boston, who died, as stated, at Bennington, (Vt.) while on a journey. It may be remarked that, for the last years of his life, Dr. Channing disclaimed all sectarian names, preferring to be called only 'Christian;' and, though under seventy, had nearly exhausted his physical powers.

"The Rev. Dr. Hawkes was less successful in obtaining replies, and, after a short period, gave way to Dr. J. W. Francis, who was welcomed with a general roll of knockings from the mysterious agents, seeming to claim the privilege of old and intimate acquaintance. With his proverbial urbanity, seating himself as if at the bed-side of a patient, Dr. F. asked, in terms of the most insinuating blandness, whether the spirits present would converse with any member of the company. Would they vouchsafe to speak to his illustrious friend, the world-renowned author, Mr. Cooper? Would they converse with the great American poet, Mr. Bryant? To these flattering invitations no reply was given. Would they speak to so humble an individual as himself? Loud knocks. Dr. F. then asked, fixing on a person, 'Was he an American? Was he an Englishman? Was he a Scotchman?' The knocks were loud and unanimous. 'Was he a merchant? Was he a lawyer? Was he an author?' Loud knocks. 'Was he a poet?' Yes, in distinct knocks. 'Will you tell his name?' Here the spirits called for the alphabet, by sounds intelligible to the ghost-seers. It then spelled out B-u-r-, when the company indiscreetly, but spontaneously, interrupted, by crying out, 'Robert Burns.' This was the true answer.

"Mr. J. Fenimore Cooper was then requested to enter into the supramundane sphere, and proceeded to interrogate the spirits, with the most imperturbable self-possession and deliberation. After several desultory questions, from which no satisfactory answers were obtained, Mr. C. commenced a new series of inquiries. 'Is the person I inquire about a relative?' Yes, was at once indicated by the knocks. 'A near relative?' Yes. 'A man?' No answer. 'A woman?' Yes. 'A daughter?' A mother? A wife? No answer. 'A sister?' Yes. Mr. C. then asked the number of years since her death. To this an answer was given in rapid and indistinct raps, some counting 45, others 49, 54, &c. After considerable parleying, as to the manner in which the question should be answered, the consent of the invisible interlocutor was given to knock the years so slowly that they might be distinctly counted. This was done. Knock—knock—knock, for what seemed over a minute, till the number amounted to fifty, and was unanimously announced by the company. Mr. C. now asked, 'Did she die of consumption?'—naming several diseases, to which no answer was given. 'Did she die by accident?' Yes. 'Was she killed by lightning? Was she shot? Was she lost at sea? Did she fall from a carriage? Was she thrown from a horse?' Yes.

"Mr. Cooper did not pursue his inquiries any further, and stated to the company that the answers were correct, the person alluded to by him being a sister, who, just fifty years ago the present month, was killed by being thrown from a horse."—Pp. 70-76.

Throughout, it is quite easy to detect how the answers were suggested; though we must confess that there are many

accounts, both in Mr. Spicer's volume and elsewhere, which do not at all admit of a similar explanation. But it is also true that they do not admit of *belief*!

When we read of men being lifted into the air, and there suspended by invisible agency for three or four minutes, without touching anything or anybody, we do not pretend "to account" for such a phenomenon,—we simply disbelieve it!

"On the 8th, in company with three gentlemen, I paid a visit to Ward Cheney, Esq., residing in Manchester, at whose house a good *medium*, Mr. Daniel D. Hume, was temporarily stopping. After a formal introduction by one of our party, who was acquainted with Mr. C., we entered into social and pleasant conversation; and a proposition was soon made by one of us, to try our luck in getting spiritual communications. A circle was accordingly formed, with Mr. Hume as a member; and the well-known vibrations on the table were soon forthcoming, loud and distinct. One of my friends had never seen any thing of the kind, and he accordingly looked under the table, to make sure that no one touched it. Answers of a personal character were given very freely; such as tests of identity, (the *medium* being a total stranger to both parties,) messages of a joyful import, &c., &c.

"The *medium* was then (apparently) thrown into a spiritually magnetic state, discovering great rigidity of muscle, and the ordinary phenomena of the psycho-magnetic condition, including a magnetic locking of the jaws, in which an iron-like hardness of the muscles was apparent. He then spelt out (with his eyes closely bandaged) some remarkable and interesting messages to one or two of the company, the personal nature of which precludes their publication, but which were declared, by those interested, to be perfect tests. He did this by pointing, with almost incredible rapidity, to the different letters of an alphabet arranged on a seven-by-nine card, and thus spelling out the necessary words. A rapid writer had difficulty in keeping up with him; and when a word or a sentence was partially finished, a suggestion from any of the company as to what was intended to be spelt would, if correct, be answered by eager and vehement rappings in various parts of the table. Among others (all remarkable) came a message from two sailors lost at sea, relatives of one of the company, a stranger to most of those present. These spirits announced themselves, somewhat unexpectedly, by canting over the solid and ponderous table, and rolling it in the manner of a vessel in a violent tempest. Accompanying this demonstration, came a violent *creaking*, as of the cables of a ship when strained in a gale; then came the loud sound of a prolonged wailing, shrieking blasts of wind, precisely such a noise as the wind makes in the rigging of a ship in a storm at sea; and the creaking of the timbers and masts, as the vessel surged to one side or the other, was distinctly heard by all. Next came the regular, sullen shocks of the waves, as they struck the bows of the doomed vessel. All this time the table kept up the rocking motion. And now the table was *capsized on the floor*! All this was done with no one touching the table, as a close and constant scrutiny was kept up by two, at least, of our party. These two sailors, (whose names and ages were given,) it seems, lost their lives by the capsizing of a vessel, as represented;

although this fact, I have the best reasons for knowing, was not previously known to the *medium* or the company.

"Demonstrations now increased in force and number. The table was actually lifted up from the floor, without the application of a human hand or foot. A table, weighing (I should judge) one hundred pounds, was lifted up a foot from the floor, the legs touching nothing! I jumped upon it, and it came up again! It then commenced rocking, without, however, allowing me to slide off, although it canted, at least, to an angle of 45°. Finally, an almost perpendicular inclination slid me off; and another of the company tried it with the same results. These things all happened in a room which was light enough to allow of our seeing under and over and all around the table, which was touched by no one except the two persons who, respectively, got upon it to keep it down.

"We went into a darkened room, to see the spiritual flashes of light said to have been vouchsafed to some investigators. Instead of this, we were greeted with *tremendous rappings* all about us. Some of the blows on the walls, floor, and tables, within three inches of myself, were *astounding*. I could hardly produce such violent demonstrations with my fist, though I were to strike with all my might. The very walls shook. Answers to questions were given by concussions of varying force and intonation, according to the character of the spirits communicating. A favourite little daughter of one of the gentlemen present,—a stranger from a remote state,—who had left the earth in the fourth year of her age, announced her presence by a thick pattering *rain* of eager and joyful little raps; and, in answer to an inward request of her father, she laid her baby hand upon his forehead! This was a man who was *not* a believer in these things,—he had never before seen them; but he could not mistake the thrilling feeling of that spirit-touch. I also had a similar manifestation, in the character of which I am not deceived.

"Suddenly, and without any expectation on the part of the company, the *medium*, Mr. Hume, was taken up in the air! *I had hold of his hand at the time, and I felt of his feet; they were lifted a foot from the floor!* He palpitated from head to foot with the contending emotions of joy and fear, which choked his utterance. Again and again he was taken from the floor; and the third time *he was carried to the lofty ceiling of the apartment, with which his hands and head came in gentle contact.* I felt the distance from the soles of his boots to the floor, and it was nearly three feet. Others touched his feet, to satisfy themselves.

"This statement can be substantiated, if necessary."—Pp. 126–130.

"If necessary!" What charming *naïveté*! The idea of any man having it in his power to substantiate a statement of this kind, and not doing so, but only saying that he will do so, "if necessary!" For ourselves, we unequivocally say, that we do not believe a word of it; and that the substantiation is not only necessary, but must be unequivocal, before we should give it a moment's credence. Here is something more of the same kind, extracted by Mr. Spicer from the "Spiritual Telegraph." It is an account of a New York conference, for the investigation of spiritual phenomena, which was held on Friday evening, June

18th, 1852, in the presence of several well-known persons, whose names are given.

"Dr. Hallock related a case of physical manifestations, which took place on the Friday evening previous, at the house of Mr. Partridge, after the conference had adjourned. Mr. D. D. Hume was the *medium*, and the circle consisted of Mr. Partridge, wife, and daughter, Wm. Taylor and wife, S. B. Brittan, and himself. On the table around which we were seated were loose papers, a lead-pencil, two candles, and a glass of water. The table was used by the spirits in responding to our questions; and the first peculiarity we observed was, that however violently the table was moved, everything on it retained its position. When we had duly observed this, the table, which was mahogany, and perfectly smooth, was elevated to an angle of about 30°, and held there, with everything remaining on it as before. It was truly interesting to see a lead-pencil retaining a position *of perfect rest, on a polished surface inclined at such an angle. It remained as if glued to the table; and so of everything else on it.* The table was repeatedly made to resume its ordinary position, and then its inclination as before, as if to fasten upon us the conviction, that what we saw was no deception of the senses, but a veritable manifestation of spirit presence and of spirit power. They were then requested to elevate the table to the same angle as before, and to detach the pencil, retaining everything else in their stationary positions. This was complied with. The table was elevated, the pencil rolled off, and everything else remained. They were then asked to repeat the experiment, retaining the pencil and everything else upon the table stationary, except the glass tumbler, and to let that slide off. This was also assented to, with the like result. All the articles retained their positions but the tumbler, which slid off, and was caught in the hands of one of the party, as it fell from the lower edge of the table. Then the table, after being restored to the natural position, was moved strongly to and from the *medium*, and to and from different individuals in the circle, as they would request. After this had been repeated several times, and while a corner of the table was inclined into his lap, Mr. Taylor asked if the spirits would lift it clear off the floor while in that position. Assent was signified; and the table, after much apparent effort, though, probably, only apparent, was lifted clear off the floor as he requested. Dr. H. said he was led to the conclusion, that the effort was only apparent, because, while we were watching it closely, with a light upon the floor, so as to see the slightest motion, the table, in the mean time resting upon one castor on the floor, and one corner of the leaf in Mr. Taylor's lap, was raised, perhaps about one inch, after having been literally tumbled about the circle, sometimes upon one castor, and sometimes upon two, the leaf resting, first upon one person's lap, and then in another. But when the foot of the table was finally raised, as described, he, to make sure that they were not mistaken in the fact, got down upon the floor, to observe more closely. While looking, the foot of the table, instead of being raised a doubtful inch or so, was thrown up clear of the floor six or eight inches, as if all former attempts had been mere playful efforts. We then asked if they could move the table with a man on it. They replied, 'Yes, with two men on it.' Mr. Partridge and myself then seated ourselves, back to back, upon the table. Our combined weight is a little over 350 pounds; but, notwithstanding, the

table was moved as easily as when nothing but the candlesticks, &c., were upon it. We were rocked backwards and forwards, to and from the *medium*, and held stationary in that position, with us upon it; and, finally, we remarked playfully, 'When you get tired of rocking us, throw us off!' It was done: the table was tipped strongly and rapidly from the *medium*, and we were thrown on the floor."—Pp. 316-319.

Besides rapping answers to questions, the American spirits, or, rather, the spirits who appear in America, vouchsafe poetical and prose communications, which are duly printed in the devout papers. Mr. Spicer has reprinted several of these trashy efforts, naïvely confessing that they are *mediocre*.

"Volumes might be filled with the prose communications purporting to proceed from the like supernatural sources. It must be owned that the great majority of these are of a very mediocre character, and would rather induce an apprehension, that the spirits of the illustrious and eminent persons from whom these lucubrations emanate, have rather deteriorated than improved by their translation to another sphere.

"Readers must judge for themselves. Here are abundant specimens. Where shall we begin? With George Washington, perhaps:—

"WASHINGTON.

"*Robert White—Medium.*

"O YE men of intelligence! be ye warned that this doctrine of spiritual intercourse will spread and overleap all opposition. Be patient, examine, investigate—try all things by the unfailing laws of nature and reason. Be not easily turned from your course—let 'onward and upward' be your watchword—all will be well if you persevere. Have charity; love your opposers; forbear; seek to enlighten them. O! be forgiving!—you are progressing. All is not truth that is asserted, but that which will stand the test of examination alone. All will work together for your good. O persevere in the investigation of this truth! I would like to impress on the mind the necessity of purity in life and thought. It would make man happy, and prepare him for the reception of these heavenly truths. The mind will become pure and cleansed of its prejudice and bigotry, and it will begin to advance, and be able to understand the subject in all its fulness and beauty; it will make you wise, and advance you to occupy a higher position in the spirit world. You must not expect to comprehend spiritualism in a moment, or in a day, week, or year. As you progress, the hidden beauties will be unfolded to the mind. Exercise and pursue the subject with diligence. Be pure, and have holy and God-like views, and, in proportion, you will progress.

"(Signed) WASHINGTON."

"Communicated, April 21, 1852."

"JEFFERSON.

"*William Rogers—Medium.*

"I AM well pleased that I am permitted to express my thoughts to those who remain on earth. I can but render thanks to our Father, God, for the great blessings He has conferred upon my beloved

country. The anniversary of America's birth is now being observed by millions of happy people, who enjoy the greatest blessings of any earthly nation. These blessings were won by a thorough and impartial investigation of the various theories of government, one of which was carried out in practice by a class of men who were not afraid of truth. In all of its affairs (the Government) it is as near the intended of God as its founders could, at that time, adopt, and at the same time consolidate the States. But, with all its blessings, it was not perfect; nor is it yet, and, probably, never will be. The Union, as it is, is worth preserving, and I pray my country will not destroy it; for, as sure as they do, civil war and carnage will assuredly follow. Better permit *one evil* than to destroy all that is good. From this fire of Liberty the sparks of freedom are flying across the waters, and have already kindled fires beyond the seas. These will burn wherever the winds of thought and education blow, until tyranny, bigotry, superstition, and all the curses which afflict man, are consumed.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

"4th July, 1851."

"CALVIN.

"(On the Laws of the Spheres.)

"D. G. Green—*Medium*."

"IN regard to the question which I promised to answer, I will state what I feel I can be clearly and fully sustained in saying. The laws which govern us in the spirit-land, in some respects, are not dissimilar to those which govern men upon earth. Yet we have greater facilities for acquiring knowledge, by far, than you who are yet in the body. And so it is with those in the higher spheres; we can the more readily learn, the nearer we approach to the goal to which we are all tending,—the great harmonial circle of God's more immediate presence. And although those who are in the lower spheres can operate powerfully upon those on earth, they cannot give us such correct ideas in regard to the working of the great plans of our Father, as those above them. When you fully realize that a spirit can accomplish in one moment, by the mere effort of the will, more than a mortal can do in a number of days,—I mean, in regard to passing from place to place,—you will not be astonished to learn that we can as readily comprehend the language as we can the thoughts of those with whom we wish to converse. And as I have said, we are, in a degree, subject to the same laws as yourselves. Yet, instead of being obliged to study for a long time to obtain a knowledge of any particular language, we are enabled to receive it as by intuition. And it is just as easy for me, when I wish to converse with one on earth, to impress the thought upon his mind, in his own language, although I never understood it when I was on your earth, as I could in my native tongue.

"JOHN CALVIN."

—Pp. 144-148.

People who will believe *that*, will believe any thing; and although our explanation of the trick upon which rapping depends, does not apply at all to these communications, nor to the mysteries of men suddenly lifted in the air, we are not in the least dismayed by these marvels; they do not at all shake

our incredulity; and we insist upon their being kept separate from the more credible statements, which we are willing enough to accept, but all of which can be explained under the supposition of the questioner's unconsciously furnishing the answer.

We must also keep separate from this spirit-rapping the latest cognate delusion of table-moving. In every street,—one might almost say, in every house,—people are busy moving tables, or hats, or basins, and believing that a new agent is thereby revealed. Here again we meet with a necessity of distinguishing *fact* and *inference*. It is idle to doubt the fact that the table does move, and move without *conscious* effort on the part of those forming the chain around it. But the inference, that it is moved by electricity, is altogether gratuitous, if not entirely fallacious. It may not be easy to explain how it is that the unconscious obedience of the muscles to an expectant emotion moves the table; still less, how it is that a table raps its answers,—nay, not only raps, but prophecies! But we must again repeat that our not being able to explain these things, is *no* ground for our belief in the existence of a new agent. In Germany, where this table-moving first began, it has been pushed to the extreme of absurdity. At Bonn, in presence of Dr. Karl Simrock, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Schade, and some others, the table not only moved, but *rapped replies* to various questions put to it, all of which replies were correct, with the exception of one, when a lady's age was asked, and the table replied, "Thirty," she being forty years of age; although, as Hoffmann and Schade naïvely confessed, they never thought she was older than thirty! The table also *prophesied*; and, on being asked what it, the table, originally cost, declared, it cost two thalers; and when asked how much it was then worth, answered one thaler! Doctor Schauenburg, who reports this, wrote to Karl Simrock to ask him to substantiate it; and this is the letter Simrock wrote:—

"How can I be persuaded that the experiments which we witnessed were not all delusions? It is true, they were not vulgar impositions. Of that we are *not* assured. But are we sure we were not the victims of an hallucination? Who can believe that an innocent table has the power of reading the future? If the prophecies and replies had not been dragged into the matter, one might have explained the movement of the table as the result of magnetic force; but the *speaking destroys the phenomenon*. A table which replies to questions can only do so in virtue of some illusion. From our experiments there is, at any rate, one important result,—namely, that our limbs are very capricious agents of our volition."

Hoffmann von Fallersleben does not, however, express any doubt. He says, "Of all that Dr. Schauenburg has written about the table-moving and table-rapping, I have been the eye-witness,

and confirm every thing he says." Dr. Schade certifies in the same way. But, to them and to all others we would say, as a question of mere probability, Is it more probable that the table should be moved by an unconscious muscular action, than that it should be moved by an agent, the existence of which you have yet to prove? for there is *no proof whatever of any such fluid* passing from our hands to the table, and then saturating the table with electricity. Moreover, we ask you whether you can suppose the table, previously unconscious, inert, ignorant, to be suddenly endowed with motion, consciousness, intelligence, and volition, by a few people placing their hands upon it; for the table must be conscious and intelligent to *hear* and *understand* what you ask it; it must have its volition to reply according to its intelligence. Now this, we say, is *not* credible; nor will all the signatures of Germany suffice to make it credible.

Since the foregoing was in type, the *mania* or *manie* have considerably abated in London, although still raging in the provinces. Table-moving had a semi-scientific aspect, which has acted as a fascination upon minds slightly tinctured with science; and endless theories, all more or less ingeniously absurd, have been propounded, with a view to explain the operation of this "new agent." Some persons start the hypothesis of a "rotatory fluid," which pervades nature, thus connecting table-turning with "gravitation" and with "cell force." Others are copious in illustrations of electricity and animal magnetism; few of them taking the trouble to ascertain what are the laws which regulate electricity,—none of them pausing at the fact, that a galvanic battery would *not* make the table turn round: it would sooner shatter it. The phrase "electricity" covers a multitude of possible operations; and men, seeing daily the marvels performed by electricity, naturally attribute to it every thing marvellous.

Professor Faraday has effectually silenced all these electrical hypotheses; and, although his explanation of the phenomenon is the same as that previously given by various independent inquirers, it has the incalculable advantage of being endorsed by his eminent authority, so that the vulgar bow and acquiesce. Since his published condemnation, table-turning has been rapidly discredited. In a little while it will be forgotten, or remembered only as one of the many Popular Delusions.

ART. VI.—1. *Official Report on the Mortality of Cholera in England.* 1848–49.

2. *Weekly Returns of Births and Deaths in London.* Published by Authority of the Registrar-General.

3. *Quarterly Returns of the Marriages, Births, and Deaths, registered in the Divisions, Counties, and Districts of England.* Published by Authority of the Registrar-General.

4. *Twelfth Annual Report of the Registrar-General.*

It is probably unknown to great numbers of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, that England and Wales are mapped out into divisions, counties, and districts, and every birth, marriage, and death, is duly registered in the locality in which it occurs. This registration is not simply of name, date, and place; there are other circumstances recorded at the same time, as to the cause of death, the age, sex, &c.; so that when a general or statistical *summary* of the facts contained in this national record is drawn out, various deductions can be made as to the moral and physical condition of the people. In London, that summary is made weekly; for the rest of England and Wales, it is quarterly; and for the entire country, annually. From time to time special circumstances arise in the national life, which have a special influence on the national well-being. Of this kind are remarkable variations in the weather, fluctuations in trade and commerce, important legislative changes, the outbreak of epidemical diseases. These circumstances each leave their indelible trace on these summaries, and some have a special consideration. The elaborate report of Mr. Farr, on the cholera of 1848–49, is one of the latter; it shows the nation suffering (and suffering unnecessarily) a grievous loss of valuable life. The quarterly report before us, for the quarter ending March, 1853, is a chequered return. Never before were there so many *families* created; or, in other words, the marriages greatly exceeded in number those of any previous return. In the *year* 1852, there were 158,439 marriages, or one person in fifty-seven of the population was united to a mate. In the year 1842, just ten years ago, there were only 118,825 marriages. Great as was the increase in the year 1852, the increase was greater in the last *quarter* of that year; for, during that time, the marriages were at the rate of one person married in forty-eight of the population. These happy and important events increased most numerous in London, where 7,101 marriages were celebrated in the last quarter of 1852. In the south, midland, and eastern counties, the bliss of newly-wedded life was below par; for in them the marriages were less numerous than usual.

With increase of marriages, there was, of course, an increase of births. The annual proportion of births, since 1843, has been

one in thirty.* In the winter quarter of the present year, it has been at the rate of one in twenty-eight. But although there was so great an increase in births, the population was not proportionately increased: on the contrary, owing to the greatly increased mortality of this winter, the increase was less, by 12,000, than in the winter quarter of 1852, and amounted only to 43,357.

The Registrar-general's Report is not limited, however, to these dry matters of births, and increase of population. He tells us, that "the tide of emigration stills rolls on; and, in the winter, 57,729 persons left the ports of the United Kingdom, at which there are Government Emigration Agents." Of these, 43,493 (principally Irish, perhaps) sailed from Liverpool, 7,249 from London, and 2,129 from Plymouth. The price of provisions advanced. Wheat, in the winter quarter of 1852, was 40s. 10d. per quarter; last winter, it was 45s. 7d.; and, worst of all for the health of the people, potatoes rose from 70s. per ton in 1852 to 127s. 6d. in the winter of 1853. A *tabular* view of the prices of consols, wheat, meat, and potatoes for the seven quarters ending March 31st last, is given. From this it appears, that consols and wheat, which averaged 96½ and 40s. 7d. respectively, during the quarter ending September 30th, 1851, rose to 99½ and 45s. 7d. during the quarter ending March 31st, 1853.

The number of DEATHS was greatly increased during the last winter; none has been so fatal, except those of 1847 and 1848, when influenza and cholera prevailed. The principal causes of this aggravated mortality were small-pox, scarlatina, typhus, influenza, bronchitis. Concurrently with this increased mortality were remarkable atmospheric changes. The spring of 1852 was singular for its dryness, the autumn for its wetness and warmth. All atmospheric changes are duly chronicled in these quarterly returns, there being *fifty* meteorological observatories scattered over England and Wales. The daily changes in the barometer, thermometer, hygrometer, anemometer, are in these watched and recorded; the falls of hail, rain, and snow, measured; the appearance of meteors, auroræ, zodiacal lights, and the occurrence of fogs, thunder-storms, and lightnings, chronicled. So we find, that the mean temperature of January last *exceeded the average of eighty years* by nearly 7°, and that the mean temperature of the three months ending January last exceeded the temperature ever recorded of those months. On February 1st, weather just as much below the average temperature set in, continuing until March 4th, and thousands perished from the effects of the cold on the health. On March 15th, the cold weather recurred again. The ratio of mortality was increased by this weather more in the country than in the towns; but THE TOWNS,

* It may be as well to remark, for the information of those not versed in statistical phraseology, that estimates of this kind are always based upon the number of persons *living*; thus, during the years 1843 to 1852, inclusive, there was a child born for every thirty persons living in each year.

the Registrar-general observes, still maintained their fatal pre-eminence, "DESTROYING, BY THEIR DIRT AND IMPERFECT SANATORY ARRANGEMENTS, *out of the same population, five lives to every four who die in the open country.*" We will pause upon this fact. For every four that die in the country, five die in the towns, the numbers living being the same in each. Inquiring into it, we find, that while all ages suffer from this increased mortality, childhood suffers most. In the insalubrious districts, the mortality of children under five years of age is more than doubled,—it is raised 124 per cent. Or, to put the waste and destruction of infant life, in towns, in another form:—supposing there are 100,000 boys, and 100,000 girls, under five years of age, in each of two districts, the one district being salubrious, the other insalubrious; in the salubrious district, 7,983 of the 200,000 children would die; but in the insalubrious, 18,083, being an excess in mortality of 10,100, *solely* chargeable to unnatural and unnecessary causes. It must be remembered, that this is really an under-statement. So also, if we look at the mortality of youth and manhood in the two classes of districts respectively; of every seventeen *men* who die in towns, seven die by unnatural causes. Of 1,000 living at the age of forty, *seven* die from the same causes; at the age of fifty, *eleven* die prematurely; at the age of sixty, *seventeen*; at the age of seventy, *twenty-six*, out of every 1,000 living at those ages. Thus, every age suffers in the insalubrious districts. To use Mr. Farr's expressive language, they are real "valleys of the shadow of death," where the population is sickly, feeble, short-lived,—where thousands of the infants are convulsed, the children's brains inflamed, tuberculous, distended with water,—where small-pox, measles, and scarlatina, instead of being light eruptions, destroy the structure of the skin, putrefy the throat, inflame the lungs,—where the natural process of teething is often fatal to the child, child-bearing to the mother,—where typhus, pneumonia, bronchitis, asthma, and consumption, destroy thousands of lives, bereaving families, and leaving multitudes of widows and orphans. The suffering and loss thus inflicted, looked at in all their bearings, are immense, incalculable. How, indeed, can they be estimated? The influence of morbid states on the passions and morals is unquestioned by the philanthropist, and acknowledged by the philosopher: how is it possible, then, to weigh and measure the sins which are *indirectly* thus caused,—the drunkenness, debauchery, immorality,—theft,—cruelty? How can the value of time wasted, of great plans perishing unmaturing, of works cut short by death, of men taken from the service of their country and of mankind before their time, be estimated? And—more than all—how shall the value of all those immortal souls be reckoned when the great day of account shall come?

The Christian man must not shut his eyes to those evils, because they are set before him in a light which appals him. He

cannot dismiss their consideration to a more convenient season, without incurring sin. He cannot say, "Am I my brother's keeper?" and rid himself thereby of blood-guiltiness; he cannot pass by on the other side, and neglect to bind up the wounds of that poor suffering brother who has fallen, while on his earthly pilgrimage, amongst those thieves and robbers of his health, and peace, and means of salvation,—the *removable causes of disease*. The command of his Lord and Master is upon the Christian, and he must work for the salvation of his brethren. To him the inquiry only can be, "What can I do? what must I do?" These inquiries we will endeavour to answer.

What we can effect, is amply illustrated by what has been done already. According to the latest observations, England is the healthiest country in the world. In every 1,000 living, two die annually in France more than in England; five in Prussia; eight in Austria; fourteen in Russia. While twenty-two per 1,000 die in England, thirty-six per 1,000 die in Russia. But the mortality in England is still too great, probably, by one-half. In the healthiest rural districts, (Glendale, Bellingham, Haltwhistle, in Northumberland,) only fourteen per 1,000 die annually; and this rate of mortality is capable of reduction. The people perish, even now, for lack of knowledge, just as they perished in the middle ages; and it has only been by the spread of knowledge that England is in the position she now holds amongst the nations of the world. A short historical review of the sanitary condition of the nations of Europe will help us to appreciate the abyss of misery from which the people of this land have been preserved.

The knowledge of what is injurious to the health, and of what is best calculated to preserve it, is included amongst the arts and sciences, under the term *HYGIENE*. This science is treated of in two great divisions, according as it refers to the people, (public *hygiène*,) or to individuals, (private *hygiène*.) All that concerns the health of the people generally, is beyond the powers of the individual to do, and devolves upon the constituted authorities. Now, the science and practice of both public and private *hygiène* were well known to the civilized nations of ancient times. In the *most* ancient, hygienic regulations constituted, indeed, part of the ceremonial of religion. *PURITY* of persons and things is the great aim of hygiene; purity of persons and things was an essential requisite in the religions of the East. Amongst the Greeks, great sanitary reformers received divine honours. The hundred-headed hydra, which Hercules slew, was a pestilential marsh; the fable of the Augean stable, that he cleansed by flushing, indicates the nature of the work he did. The sites of Etruscan cities, whose foundation is lost in remote antiquity, still exhibit gigantic works of sewerage and drainage. During the culminating point of Roman civilization, public baths were numerous in all the towns and cities of the Empire, and were accessible at a very low charge,—less than a farthing. In con-

nexion with these baths, there were temples, academies, and gymnasia, or places for athletic exercises; so fully were the means of hygienic art supplied to the people. With the fall of the Roman Empire, hygiene declined with the other arts and sciences, and the populous cities of Europe became in consequence the prey of frequently recurring pestilence. There was no system of sewerage, or drainage; the streets were unpaved, and uncleansed, and so narrow, that ventilation was almost impossible. The houses were also constructed with little regard to health, and the domestic arrangements were of a very imperfect character. Population continually increased, especially within the fortified cities, where life and property were safest, and where the arts, commerce, and manufactures flourished. But the same circumstance which protected life from violence, endangered it. The ever-increasing crowds, cooped up in a narrow space, added to the danger of epidemical outbreaks in a geometrically increasing ratio, until at last the "visitation" came, and swept away a fourth, a third, nay, not unfrequently a half, of the population. It was when mediæval civilization was at its culminating point in Europe, and large and flourishing commercial cities were in the full zenith of prosperity, that a terrible epidemic, termed "the Black Death," burst forth, and, by its fearful ravages, (with the mysterious permission of Divine Providence,) threw back the entire of European civilization. This epidemic (in the words of its historian, Hecher) was a convulsion of the human race, unequalled in violence and extent. It fills a page of history that speaks of incredible disasters, of despair, of general licentiousness, of unbridled demoniacal passions. It appeared first in 1348, when it raged chiefly amongst the poor; it re-appeared in 1360, and was then more prevalent amongst the wealthier classes. It was as universal, but exceedingly more fatal than the Cholera pestilence of modern times. Sailors found no refuge in their ships, and vessels were often seen driving about on the ocean, and drifting on shore, whose crews had perished to the last man. The epidemic was ushered in, and accompanied, by states of the weather, (as droughts and floods,) and terrestrial and atmospheric changes, (as earthquakes and meteors,) closely similar to those which have recently occurred. Nor were the concomitant diseases dissimilar from those now prevalent. Boils and carbuncles have of late been remarkably common. In the last Quarterly Return, (quarter ending 31st of March,) it is observed, "Carbuncle has been unusually fatal; the deaths in the last five quarters have been one, two, three, seventeen, twenty." So it was also during "the Black Death." Now, also, and lately, fevers are, and have been, unusually destructive; the yellow fever in the West; Cholera, influenza, dysentery, typhus, scarlatina, small-pox, in Europe: such, also, was the case at the epoch we speak of. But, although the great cosmic causes are now the same as then, (inasmuch as these are beyond the reach of man,)

and although epidemical fevers have been, therefore, more than usually prevalent, and deaths more frequent, yet the *removable* causes being incalculably less intense, the mortality is proportionately smaller. Herein is fully shown what an improved system of hygiène has done for modern society. The Cholera of 1848-49 slew 53,293 men, women, and children, in the whole of England; if it had been as fatal as "the Black Death," at least 4,000,000 would have perished! That pestilence destroyed in the then London, with its limited population, not fewer than 100,000; in Norwich, 51,100. In the whole of Europe, *twenty-five millions* died of it, or about one-fourth of the population.

A succession of pestilential epochs continued in Europe during the succeeding centuries, and in England to the last great plague in London, in 1665. In the following year, (most fortunately for this country,) a great fire destroyed a large part of that city, and so ushered in an improved system of street architecture, as well in London as in all the principal towns of the kingdom. The mortality still remained high, nevertheless,—being more than twice the present rate,—and febrile diseases of a bad type were very prevalent; but nothing like the destruction of the periodic pestilential epochs again happened. When the Black Death had ceased its ravages for a century, a new and very fatal pestilence appeared in England, which was termed "the Sweating Sickness." Chroniclers say that, of those attacked, hardly one in a hundred escaped. The first great outbreak was in 1485, in London, immediately after the battle of Bosworth: by the end of the year, it had spread over the whole of England. The humidity of that year was remarkable; throughout the whole of Europe, the rain fell in torrents. The previous years had also been remarkable in this respect; an inundation of the Severn caused immense destruction in October, 1483, as it did just 369 years subsequently (last year). During the whole of this period, Europe suffered from plague, putrid fevers, and various pestilential diseases. The summer of 1504 was very hot and dry; of 1505, was very wet: in 1506, there was an eruption of Vesuvius; in the same year, the Sweating Sickness again broke out in England, while a new form of pestilence, the petechial fever, (a spotted typhus,) devastated Southern and Central Europe. This epidemic period continued for five years, the influenza being one form, the bubo-plague another, and a murrain destroying the cattle, as in previous pestilences. Here, again, we trace a similarity between the then meteorological conditions, and those of the present time. The Sweating Sickness broke out for a third time in England, in 1517, and caused great destruction of life in London, during the summer of that year, amongst all classes. This outbreak was comparatively local, and was attributed to the unclean habits of the English. Erasmus, describing the "truly Scythian filth of the English habitations," says, "The floors of the houses, generally, are made of nothing but loam, and are strewed with rushes,

which, being constantly put on fresh, without a removal of the old, remain lying there, in some cases for twenty years, with fish-bones, broken victuals, and other filth underneath, and impregnated with the urine of dogs and men." Although the Sweating Sickness did not prevail on the Continent of Europe, other pestilential diseases were present coteremporaneously therewith. The same coincidences were observed during the fourth outbreak of the Sweating Sickness in England, in 1528. This was emphatically designated "the great mortality" by the historians of the time. The autumn of the preceding year was remarkable for the continuously heavy rains; and, in Upper Italy, the astrologers announced a new deluge. In the subsequent years, also, earthquakes, meteors, floods, &c., were unusually frequent; so that this outbreak occurred, likewise, under meteorological conditions analogous to the present. In 1529, the Sweating Sickness appeared in Hamburgh; spread thence throughout Germany, and, reaching the army of Soliman, then besieging Vienna, caused the siege to be raised. It was introduced, July 25th, by a ship from England, commanded by one Captain Hermann Evans. It afterwards spread over the Netherlands, and the North of Europe. During its fearful prevalence, the Reformation was struggling into existence, and the faggot and the stake added to its horrors. Erasmus, in one of his Epistles, concentrates in a few words a description of affairs: "*Nusquam pax, nullum iter tutum est, rerum charitate, penuria, fame, pestilentia laboratur ubique, sectis dissecta sunt omnia; ad tantam malorum lernam accessit letalis sudor, multos intra horas octo tollens e medio,*" &c. The Papists attributed the pestilence to the anger of heaven against the Protestants, or "Martineans," as the followers of Luther were called at Lübeck.

The fifth and last visitation of the Sweating Sickness commenced on the 15th of April, 1537, at Shrewsbury, where nine hundred and sixty persons died of it in a few days. It ravaged England until the autumn of the same year. It spared neither rank, age, nor sex, lasting in each place not longer than fifteen days. During this epidemic, the first English sanitary publication appeared; it was a "Boke or Counsel against the Disease commonly called the Sweate, or Sweating Sickness. Made by Ihon Caius, Doctour in Physicke, uery necessary for euery Personne, and muche requisite to be had in the Handes of al Sortes, for their better Instruction, Preparacion, and Defence against the soubdein Comyng, and fearful Assaultyng of the same Disease. 1532." Dr. John Key, or Kay, thought it necessary to explain that the reason why he did not write in Greek or Latin, (as was his wont,) but in English, was, "the necessity of the matter, and good will to his country friends and acquaintance;" for the destructiveness of the disease was to him "a heavy and pityful thing to hear or see." His description of the suddenness and violence of the disease is singularly graphic. It "immediately

killed some in opening their windows, some in playing with children in their street doors; some in one hour, many in two, it destroyed; and at the longest, to them that merrily dined, it gave a sorrowful supper. As it found them, so it took them; some in sleep, some in wake; some in mirth, some in care; some fasting, and some full; some busy, and some idle; and in one house sometime three, sometime five, sometime seven, sometime eight, sometime more, sometime all; of the which, if the half in every town escaped, it was thought great favour." This remark shows that the mortality of those attacked was about the same as that of the Cholera. His instructions for "the preseruacion" are very sound. The diet must be moderate and good; and to this end he would have "certain masters of health in every city and town, as there is in Italy," to examine all articles of food and drink. As to the air, he advises the "taking away the causes of infection," regarding which he is very specific. "Take away the causes we may in cleansing ditches, avoiding carrions, letting in open air, shunning such evil mists as before I spake of, not opening or stirring evil breathing places, landing muddy and rotten grounds, burying dead bodies, keeping canals clean, sinks and easing-places sweet, removing dung-hills, box and evil-savouring things; inhabiting high and open places, close toward the south, shut toward the wind, as reason will, and the experience of M. Varro in the pestilence at Coreyra confirmeth." One or two sound maxims he clinches in a good old English way: *e. g.*, "And for so much as cleanliness is a great help to health, mine advice is, that all your clothes be sweet smelling and clean," &c. And, again: "Good means to fet out the evil stuff of the body be two,—abstinence and avoidance;" or, "For making our bodies luful, galliard, and healthful, I do not a little commend exercise."

The Sweating Sickness was replaced from this time by "the Plague," several epidemics of which occurred in London and elsewhere, until the last great Plague of 1665. Mr. Farr, in his Report on Cholera, gives diagrams of the mortality in London during five of these outbreaks; namely, during the years 1593, 1603, 1625, 1636, 1665. De Foe has made the horrors of these "visitations" in London familiar to the English reader. Amongst the Reports to the Health of Towns' Commission, there is a Report by Dr. Laycock "On the Epidemics of York, especially those prevalent in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth Centuries, and on their Connection with deficient sanatory Regulations." In this there is an account, together with others, of the occurrence of "a great Plague" in York, in 1604; during which, from *data* taken from the parish registers and municipal records, it is shown that from one-half to one-third of the population of the city perished. From the repeated recurrence of the same name in the parish registers, with the degree of relationship, it is manifest that whole families were carried off. Thus, three daughters and

two sons of William Porson, a goldsmith, are registered in one parochial register, as interred between the 21st of August and 1st of September inclusive; the goldsmith being interred himself on the 7th. Richard Cararte, the apothecary, two sons, and a daughter, are buried between the 2nd and 18th of September; his wife, Cicelly, follows them on the 4th of October. These details, as is remarked in the Report, need no comment. "Simple as they are, they sufficiently exhibit the domestic distress and desolation caused, not only by this epidemic, but also by those oft-recurring pestilences of the previous centuries."

To what circumstances is due the immunity from "great plagues" and "visitations" experienced by the United Kingdom during the last two centuries? They are very various. In the first place, medical science has been much extended and popularized. An intelligent layman of the nineteenth century is far better acquainted with the practice of medicine, and the *materia medica*, than was the most learned physician of the fifteenth. This knowledge has had an imperceptible, but most powerful, influence on the health of the people, by bringing the daily minute circumstances of life under the control of an unexpressed but all-pervading hygiène. Secondly. The contagious and infectious class of fevers are better understood, and, therefore, treated much more successfully; while, as to one of them, the small-pox, an efficient means of prevention has been discovered in the practice of vaccination. Thirdly. It is of essential importance that fresh vegetables should constitute a part of the diet of man: cereals alone, however abundant, are not sufficient for health; and when used unmixed with fresh vegetable food, there arises a condition of the system very similar to that of sea-scurvy, if not identical with it; a condition which strongly pre-disposes the individual to suffer from all kinds of fevers. In the general use of the potato, the people of modern times possess an incalculable advantage over their ancestors in protection from epidemic diseases. Perhaps no circumstance was so generally unknown to the public during the months succeeding to the destruction of the potato-crop, as the relation between an imperfect supply of that fresh vegetable, and the greatly-increased mortality from typhus, noted at that time. Fourthly. The development of the textile manufactures, especially of linen and cotton, has placed the means of personal cleanliness within the reach of classes to which they were previously unattainable; while the more equal diffusion of wealth, consequent upon the rapid extension of trade and commerce, has led to the construction of better dwellings for the people.

Concurrently with these advantages, as regards individual hygiène, a knowledge of the wide-spread malignancy of overcrowding, and of marsh and sewer emanations, became more diffused amongst the medical profession, and passed from their ranks to those of the political economists. Long after the evil

effects of these poisonous effluvia were recognised, the means to obviate them were entirely wanting. Howard's labours checked the development of jail-fevers; army and navy surgeons energetically diminished the mortality from ship and camp fevers, and from scurvy; but it was not until very recently that the sanitary condition of the poorer classes was thoroughly investigated, with a view to the amelioration of their sufferings. It would be invidious and prolix to mention the names of those physicians, surgeons, legislators, and political economists who have devoted their energies to the elucidation of this question, and to the enactment of suitable measures of protection; but we may refer especially to some of these. The reports made to the Poor-Law Board, and the result of the investigations and inquiries which were carried on by Mr. Chadwick the Secretary, take the first rank. In 1838 certain physical causes of fever and of sickness and mortality in the metropolis were investigated by Dr. Neil Arnott, Dr. James P. Kay, and Dr. Southwood Smith. Their reports led to an extension of the inquiry to the country generally; and the "Local Reports," and "General Report on the Sanitary Condition of the labouring Population of Great Britain" of 1842, followed. The appearance of these volumes constitutes an era in economical legislation. They may be said to be the basis of a new charter, which the working population in all civilized countries, as well as in Great Britain, have had conferred upon them by the State; for in them the State is seen, for the first time, grappling in earnest, and in a spirit of true science, with the weighty evils which had long degraded and destroyed the mass of the people. The information thus accumulated aroused public attention to the gigantic magnitude of the evils, while it demonstrated them; but a public *opinion* was hardly formed, and Government felt itself unable to grapple with them by legislation, until a further inquiry into the existing condition of the law, as applicable to the removal of these evils, had been instituted, and the evils themselves further investigated. This led to the appointment of the Health of Towns' Commission, and to a still more searching and extended inquiry. Very elaborate Reports, Local and General, embodying an amount of hygienic knowledge never before collected so accurately and so extensively, was the result. The Reports were widely circulated; Health of Towns' Associations were formed; public opinion was concentrated on the Legislature by public meetings and petitions; and, after some delay and much difficulty, the Health of Towns' Act was passed, and a General Board of Health established. By that Act, the execution of all works of public hygiène was intrusted to local corporate bodies, acting under the control of the General Board. Some of these have already commenced operations; others are about to commence. This, then, is the position of England at the present moment with regard to public hygiène; these are the means that have been used, and will

be used. What must be its future? and how can the people attain a reduction to that rate of mortality which is the will of Divine Providence?

We have already seen that it is by KNOWLEDGE of the means to health, and of the causes of disease, that we have been, and are, so singularly blessed as a people, and saved from those fearful ravages of the destroying angel which we have briefly sketched. It is by knowledge only that the primal curse can be further alleviated, and suffering and sin, disease and death, so far as they are dependent upon *removable* causes, removed. That this knowledge must be applied and directed in a different way than heretofore, will appear very obvious from a simple consideration of the duties of Local Boards of Health. They have the same position in relation to the local communities which they represent, as the legislature holds to the people at large. They are legislators for the health of the people. But they are more than this; in many points they are the executive also. Now, even as legislators, it is not possible for men to enact wisely or well, without a knowledge of the subject-matter of legislation; but in men acting as judges and the executive, such knowledge is absolutely imperative for the ends of justice and truth. Have, then, the members of Local Boards of Health that knowledge of their subject-matter, *hygiène*, which will fully qualify them for their important duties? We fear that the unhesitating reply to this question must be in the negative. They are intelligent men, for the most part; not a few are educated men; but it must be acknowledged, that hardly one in a hundred has studied *hygiène* as a science or an art. That study has hitherto been limited to the medical profession, or rather, to a limited number of the more active minds of that profession. *Hygiène, as a science*, has certainly been much more cultivated in France and Germany than in the United Kingdom. Chairs of *Hygiène* are found in the schools and universities of the former, but not in the latter; and while French and German literature abounds in special works on *hygiène*, they are few, and of an elementary character only, in English literature. *Hygiène, as an art*, has, we think, been more developed in England, of late years at least. Perhaps, on some points, as the interment of the dead, the prevention of small-pox, the repression of quackery, the detection of mischievous adulterations in food and drink, and some minor points, we are behind the Continent; but in sewerage and drainage, supply of water, ventilation, warming and lighting of workshops and dwellings, diet and personal cleanliness, and the like, we may fairly claim to be somewhat in advance. These advantages have been gained independently of a system, and simply in virtue of that practical quality of the English mind which induces the individual to grapple with an evil when it is fully demonstrated to exist.

If, then, knowledge be so necessary to success, and if the peo-

ple of England have grappled so successfully with the causes of disease and death, with an unsystematic culture of public and individual hygiène, what may not be expected to result from making *the art and science* A PART OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE? And this brings us to the principal object we have had in view in this article, namely, the advocacy of that measure.

The reasons for making the theory and practice of hygiène a part of the national system of education, are very various. Some are obvious enough; others require elimination. Let us take *individual* hygiène first. Nothing is more obviously true than the proposition, that whatever knowledge will enable the youth of this country to possess sound bodily health, should be communicated; and it may be said, that the proposition is universally acted upon, so far as the knowledge of parents and teachers carries them.* But the information communicated is often of the most imperfect character, and is sometimes no knowledge at all, but error. The practised eye sees in these efforts only the blind leading the blind. It is a primary requisite, therefore, to a national system of *individual* hygiène, that the study of its principles and practice should be systematic, and constitute a part of the training of school-teachers. When once this class is duly indoctrinated, the further steps will be easy. In the first place, the general *practice* of individual hygiène will become systematic. It will be a part of school routine; and, being constantly so adopted, will form finally the *habitual* practice of the adult population. Another important reason is, that the *moral* effects of personal cleanliness are very great; corporeal purity is constantly associated with high mental and moral culture. Hence it is proverbial, that "cleanliness is next to godliness." The entire doctrines and practice of hygiène have, in fact, PURITY as their sole object. The science teaches the principles whereby that purity may be obtained; the art, the mode in which those principles may be carried out. Let our reader take *purity of the atmosphere* as a starting-point, and to how many important doctrines and practices will he not be led! The *ventilation* of all places in which the atmosphere is confined, is necessary to the purity of that atmosphere, and is a most important part of hygiène. All localities where the people congregate, whether for business, or pleasure, or religious duty, must be ventilated; that is, have the atmosphere constantly changed. The Courts of Law and of Parliament, camps, churches, chapels, public rooms, school-rooms, work-shops, factories, mines, ships, hospitals, asylums, workhouses, dwellings, are special instances. Now, *the laws of motion* of the atmosphere

* As these sheets are passing through the press, we learn that the Clergy of Leeds are directing public attention to the *physical* education of the children in the National Schools.

must be taught, before the *principles* of ventilation, under the most ordinary circumstances, can be understood. Ventilation implies that the replacing atmosphere is pure,—that is, unmingled with foreign matters; but it is constantly liable to be rendered impure from numerous causes, and thereby becomes more or less deadly. The emanations from the skin and lungs of living beings, as well as the abstraction of the oxygen by the respiratory process, deteriorate the air. When these accumulate, and no provision is made for a replacement of the atmosphere, so as to dilute them, or carry them off, a class of fever is caused, of which *Typhus* is the type. Such a fever was generated in the Black Hole at Calcutta, and is even now produced in workhouses, &c. Emanations from the *excretions* of living beings render the atmosphere impure: if these accumulate, and are breathed in sufficiently large quantities, they induce another class of fevers, termed the *Typhoid*, in which diarrhœa, cholera, or ulceration of the bowels, are leading symptoms. The *sewerage* of houses and towns is the means whereby the sources of these emanations are carried off; and as there is a daily and hourly production of the excretions, equally, constantly, and uninterruptedly available must be the system of removal. Hence it is, that a knowledge of the laws of movement of fluids, or semi-fluids, is necessary in forming a complete system of sewerage for any given locality. The emanations from decaying animal and vegetable matter are deadly fever poisons. The interment of the dead amongst the living is, therefore, utterly inadmissible; and the question of *public cemeteries* becomes, consequently, of great public importance to all large towns and cities. In the metropolis, one thousand human bodies have to be disposed of every week. The emanations from decaying vegetable matter cause ague, in all its forms, “jungle-fever,” &c. They require moisture for their production; and are, therefore, most largely developed in marshes or marshy ground. Works of *drainage* for a large district are often necessary to render a given locality healthy in this respect. The influence of imperfect drainage on epidemical disease is admirably demonstrated in the “Report on Cholera.” A diagram shows the population of London as if living at different levels, or on a succession of terraces. The deaths on the lowest terrace, namely, 20 feet above the Thames level, were 102 per 10,000; on the highest terrace, or 340–360 feet above the level, they were only 7, or one-eighteenth of the lowest. If 102 be divided successively by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, it gives the progressive diminution of mortality as we ascend from terrace to terrace, the elevation being 10, 30, 50, 70, 90 feet. The same principle operated throughout the entire kingdom during the cholera epidemic.

These are large and comprehensive facts as to the impurities of the atmosphere, simply as to their influence on the animal economy, and as to the means of removing them. It was impurities

from these sources which were the primary and principal causes of the epidemics of the middle ages. Science was not then developed so as to enable mankind either to grapple with them or detect their true relations to disease. Such is not the condition of society in modern times; the mystery is almost wholly unravelled; the true causes, modes of development, and the sources of the mortality of pestilences are almost wholly known, and the means of their extinction indicated. Whether these means shall be rightly used or not depends mainly upon the action of Boards of Health. The right use of the means requires a scientific knowledge of the whole subject; but how can this be brought to bear in practice, unless that necessary knowledge be possessed by the individuals constituting those Boards? Hence arises the necessity for public hygiène being made a part of the educational system of the people. In no other way than this general diffusion of the necessary knowledge can the Boards of Health be reached, so long as they are constituted by popular election. Every English youth, therefore, who may be expected to take a part in public affairs in after-life, should be as prepared by previous instruction for applying the principles of public hygiène, as he is prepared for trade and commerce.

There is another and not less important reason why teaching of hygiène should be made a part of educational routine. The highest standard of health of a people can never be attained, unless the people themselves co-operate in an enlightened spirit with the efforts of the authorities. It is especially in free countries that the conviction, in the minds of the people, of the necessity of sanitary measures must accompany all legislation; otherwise the law will be a dead letter. With the judgment of the people enlightened by instruction, there will be no difficulty in carrying out measures of medical police; if the people be ignorant, the difficulties will be almost insurmountable. Hence, whether we look on the one hand at those who have to be local legislators and executors of the law, or on the other at the people over whom their authority extends, instruction in the laws of health, and the means of preserving it, is alike necessary to both.

Sanitary measures have been ordinarily advocated on economical grounds; that is to say, the pecuniary interests involved have had a chief place in the arguments. We have gone a step farther than this, and said something of the desolation and death caused by removable diseases. We might have gone a step farther still, and placed the question on a religious basis. A people can never attain to the *highest* degree of moral and religious development so long as the physical health is imperfect. It is the law of Divine Providence, that a sound body is necessary to a sound mind, and that both a sound mind and body are necessary to combat successfully with the ills of life. "The people bred on marshy coasts," Mr. Farr observes, "and low river mar-

gins, where pestilence is generated, live sordidly, without liberty, without poetry, without virtue, without science. They neither invent nor practise the arts; they possess neither hospitals, nor castles, nor habitations fit to dwell in; neither farms, freeholds, nor workshops. They are conquered and oppressed by successive tribes of the stronger races, and appear to be incapable of any form of society except that in which they are slaves." These are Truths stamped on the page of universal history; Truths weighty with good to man, if acted upon; Truths which must be acted upon, if Christendom would fulfil its mission. The Gospel of Christ Jesus must go forth, not alone, but with the blessing of physical as well as moral health, of corporeal as well as of spiritual regeneration. That Heavenly Wisdom should bear length of days in her right hand: "For by me," she hath declared, "thy days shall be multiplied, and the years of thy life shall be increased." He who healed all manner of diseases, set us thereby an example that we should follow in his steps. To them that literally walk in the valley of the shadow of death, we must make *the* Light to shine; to the enslaved and the oppressed, because physically weak, the blessed Gospel must be sent, with healing, literally, in its wings. To educate a whole Christian people in hygiène is, therefore, a work as glorious and divine as it is useful and economical.

It may now be asked, How is this educational work to be done? We answer, according to the ordinary methods of instruction. All that is wanted is a series of school-books adapted to the different classes of learners. The PRINCIPLES of hygiène are really most simple, and can be made easily intelligible to very young minds. If those simple principles be inculcated as moral truths are inculcated, and at the same time the daily routine of school-duty be made a practical commentary on the principles so taught; the rising generation would be readily indoctrinated with the leading truths of hygiène, and habituated to the daily practice of its precepts. The fundamental truth should be, the *necessity of corporeal purity and vigour*. From this great truth, all minor doctrines and practices would necessarily flow. The details of public and individual hygiène, and the purely scientific facts and doctrines, would be no more difficult to teach to the senior classes of schools, than those of any other practical science. It is true, that as yet there are no suitable class-books; but we can only say as to this point, that we will ourselves guarantee the supply of such books, so soon as the managers of a few schools call for them. Practically, the difficulty would be in the commencement; but this difficulty would be overcome very easily, by constituting a knowledge of the simpler principles of hygiène part of the qualifications of the trained schoolmaster. Emulation in masters, and the competition between scholastic establishments, would soon complete the work.

ART. VII.—1. *Christianity and Secularism: Report of the Public Discussion between the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., and Mr. G. J. Holyoake.* London: Ward and Co.

2. *Secular Tracts.* By the REV. J. H. HINTON, M.A. Nos. 1-5. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

3. *Modern Atheism; or, the Pretensions of Secularism examined. A Course of Four Lectures, delivered in the Athenæum, Thornton, Bradford.* By the REV. J. GREGORY, REV. G. W. CONDER, REV. J. A. SAVAGE, and REV. E. MELLOR, A.M. London: Partridge and Oakley.

THE publications at the head of this article limit our view to that particular phase of infidelity which appeals more especially to our artisans, and which has been recently christened, "after a re-inspection of the general field of controversy," by the very wide—if not very high-sounding—name, SECULARISM. There is much, after all, in a name. Men hand down their names from sire to son, and it generally requires no small consideration to induce them to change them. Societies are still more tenacious of their old designations; and it must be a very weighty inducement indeed that will bring them to submit to a re-baptism of their principles. Our free-thinkers, if we take their own account of the matter, have made a virtue of necessity. "Skin for skin; yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life." The eye of Owenism had become dim,—its strength had very much abated; instead of going on conquering and to conquer, it has, for some years past, been losing ground. A change, therefore, became necessary. It was "do" or "die" with it. If one is apt to lose caste in his old clothes, it is not bad policy to exchange them for new ones. If a system is likely to be crushed to death under an ugly name, self-preservation would dictate the course of throwing it off, and assuming a fairer one. Secularism is more inviting than atheism. The sunlight may play about the one; the shadow of death rests on the other. A bad sign keeps customers away from the shop: have recourse, then, to the expedient of getting it newly lettered and painted. Such is the grand result of the re-inspection of the general field of controversy.

Having looked at the sign, we enter the shop-door and inspect the wares. This is what we now purpose doing in regard to Secularism. That black term, "atheist," by which the public understand, "one who is without God and without morality," no longer meets the view. It is effaced; and to revive it, would be followed by an indictment for defamation of character. Not even the word "infidel" is to be heard, because our conscientious free-thinkers are faithful to what they consider the truth,—a reason urged by all sceptics; so that the word, if allowed to stand in our dictionaries, might be marked "obsolete." People, however, in spite of all such protests, will call things by their

appropriate names; and if our Secularists hold by their old atheistical and infidel principles, (and they warn us against supposing that they have abandoned them,) they must expect either to be called atheists and infidels, or to find Secularism looked upon as atheistical. It is a change of tactics; not a change of principle. We will not taunt them with abating a jot of their hatred to Christianity, simply because they have not done so; nor will we charge them with an increase of their enmity, because that is impossible. The banyan tree, in their estimation, is the symbol of religion. The belief in a God, distinct from nature, is "the great trunk." The Secularist axe has been long hewing at it, but it remains as steadfast as ever. The woodman has left the trunk only for a season, and is levelling his blows at the outer branches; but he looks all the while to the destruction of the great trunk, in order to effect the fall of the tree. In short, Secularism is to enlist sappers and woodcutters of all characters, and from every quarter. The tree has many trunks, and sends many independent roots into the soil. They may take their choice. Those who are not prepared to lay the axe at the great trunk, can cut through some of the branches. Demolition is the chief thing, no matter where you begin. Secularism has standing-room, and full employment, for sceptical gentlemen of all grades. All men, in short, are tolerated; some at the trunk, others at the branches; excepting always those who bear the name and badge of a Christian.

Secularism is the child of Owenism; and the child, like the parent, has been well steeped in atheism. The pretensions of the one are as big as ever were the pretensions of the other. It is held out as the lever to elevate the working-classes. It has long been familiar to our artisans in the metropolis, and in large towns in manufacturing districts. Societies have been organized, in many places, for its propagation. The itinerant lecturer declaims on it, week after week, to congregated workmen. It has its cheap periodical literature also. No system acts more on the principle of becoming all things to all men, in order that it may win some. Persuaded that its pretensions need only to be unmasked in order to discover its wretchedness,—that its principles need but be looked at in order to our seeing their shallow and unphilosophical nature,—that its destructive tendencies need only be pointed out to convince our artisans that it is the enemy of all their interests,—we, of the London Quarterly, would claim a hearing from our intelligent workmen, while weighing the claims of Secularism.

Secularism is the philosophy of the things of time. Its first dogma is, "*Nature is the only subject of knowledge.*" Other philosophies have embraced the spiritual world in their speculations, and have had regard to the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of man; but Secularism shuts them quite out at one entrance, and would keep our thoughts pent up

beneath the skies, interdicting to its disciples all inquiry beyond. This is vaunted as a philosophy, founded in the nature of things, and in the constitution of man, which is to re-cast and elevate humanity ! We may expect, then, to gather grapes of thorns, and figs of thistles. Most assuredly, it has no foundation in man's conscience and moral instincts. It is built on the mere outside of humanity, and practically ignores man as a being possessed of heart and soul, of thought, and imaginings, and longings, which wander throughout eternity. But let us look at the dogma itself, and in its relations. Here our first inquiry is as to its truth. Supposing that this position had been reached by what seemed a chain of close and indissoluble links of argumentation, there would still have been room left for this inquiry. Our moral instincts, in such a case, would have put us on our guard against the illusions of logic. It has been well said, that "the best-reasoned is not always the most reasonable conclusion ; and when, from any logical conclusion, the soul and conscience recoil, we may well believe that there is some real, though latent, error, either in the basis on which we have argued, or the superstructure of argument which we have erected upon it."* But here is no argumentation whatever. The first dogma of Secularism is nothing more than a naked assertion,—an unsupported assumption, which conflicts with the general experience of the race, and contravenes the indestructible principles of man's moral nature. Neither savage nor sage, neither philosopher nor peasant, has acted on the belief, that nature is the only subject of knowledge. Man, in the strength of his moral instincts, notwithstanding all his mental aberrations and perversions of conscience, has passed beyond the seen and temporal, and felt, that within the sphere of the knowable lay the unseen and eternal. On the principle, that instincts imply the existence of their objects, there must be something beyond the nature which we know ; else, human nature were a compound of errors and absurdities,—of adaptations without ends,—of instincts without objects,—of hopes and aspirations without realities on which to rest. In short, man's body would far excel man's soul ; for in the organization of the one we see a system of exquisite adaptations, having their corresponding objects ; whereas, on the supposition in question, the constitution of the other were an anomaly,—an ever-acting system of illusions.

The adherents of Secularism are expected, by their great master, practically to ignore the existence of a Supreme Being and a future state, on account of their alleged uncertainty ; and to concur in giving a primary, if not exclusive, attention to the things of sense and time. Questions which, in all ages, have had an extensive influence on practice, and which men, in spite of all teaching to the contrary, have brought to bear on human

* Sir James Stephen's "Lectures on the History of France," vol. ii., p. 235.

affairs, are to be shelved as theoretical, and "not settled." We look with amazement at the position which Mr. Holyoake himself occupies; but our amazement increases when we think of the position in which he would place his followers. His own opinion is, that there is no Personal God, and no future life. His oft-repeated axiom is, "The nature which we know, must be the God which we seek;" and in nature he recognises but the properties of matter. The eternity of the universe is considered by him to be a less mystery than the eternity of a First Cause as its originator; and he wishes to halt in the former, and not to trouble himself about the other. We look, we say, in utter astonishment at the man who, in view of the wondrous manifestations of nature, talks of its being a degradation to assign it the second, instead of the first, rank;—to regard it as created and presided over by a Supreme Intelligence, instead of being self-existent and self-controlled. It would not surprise us to hear him, when looking upon some of the pictures of Raphael, or when moving among the statues in the British Museum, maintain, that it discredits the paintings and the sculpture to regard them as the productions of great minds. No doubt, St. Paul's Cathedral, which so frequently meets Mr. Holyoake's eye, would have been a vastly more wondrous structure than it is, had it arisen out of the earth, like an exhalation, instead of its being the effect of the genius of Sir Christopher Wren. Matter degraded, when viewed as the product of an Infinite Mind! This is a complete reversal of the general judgment of mankind. It is a violent interdict, placed upon the outgoings of our moral instincts and feelings. Consistency requires the man who holds it to fix himself in the position, that intelligent design is no proof whatever of an intelligent designer. And if nature, or matter, with all its wondrous properties, is to be elevated from the second to the first rank, the result will be the substitution of material idolatry, or objective pantheism, for the worship of an All-perfect Mind.

No arguments for the existence of a God distinct from nature, will satisfy our Secularist expounder, because they do not give him certainty. It is in vain to tell him that moral evidence is the appropriate proof of moral truth, and that, just because the evidence is moral, it is not irresistible. The absurdity in his case is, in demanding evidence of a kind or degree that the subject, from its nature, does not admit. Such a man, indeed, is not to be reasoned with. He puts himself *hors de combat*. Besides, what certainty has he that nature is the only subject of knowledge? that the nature which we know, must be the God which we seek? None whatever. It is a mere assumption. He cannot be certain that there is nothing above and beyond nature. Men in all ages—some few sceptics excepted—have felt and acted as if they were morally certain that there is. Demonstrative certainty on the subject is unattainable. It were

inconsistent with our condition, as moral and accountable agents. Our intellects may crave for entire certainty, both in reference to the existence of a God and a future state. But we must, after all, be content with our lot. Here, then, is our choice: Partial satisfaction to the intellect, in regard to the belief in a Divine Being distinct from nature, is, at least, attainable. Not a whit more than partial satisfaction to the intellect (if even so much) can be claimed for the dogma, that nature is the only subject of knowledge. But man has a heart as well as a head. His conscience and moral instincts recoil from accepting the nature we know, as the God we seek, and demand, as their satisfying portion, the existence of a Supreme, and absolutely perfect, Intelligence. The man who rests in nature as the only subject of knowledge, accepting the nature we know as the God we seek, and repudiating all arguments for the existence of a Personal God, because they do not give him absolute certainty, is guilty of two things. In the first place, he is chargeable with absurdity in rejecting, because of its alleged uncertainty, a proposition which mankind in general have received as true; and in adopting an opposite proposition, for which he has no greater certainty, and which men almost universally have disowned as false. In the second place, he is guilty of thwarting his conscience and moral instincts, and of repudiating a truth which is absolutely necessary to the moral perfection of man. "Atheism," as Dr. Arnold remarks, "separates truth from goodness, and scepticism destroys truth altogether; both of which are monstrosities, from which we should revolt as from a real madness. All speculations of the kind are to be repressed by the will." Intellectually and morally, the individual is in a very false position, who halts in the assumption, that the nature we know is the God we seek; and we cannot refrain from looking in utter astonishment at the man who deems the eternity of the universe to be a less mystery, than the eternity of a Supreme Intelligence as the originator of the universe.

Still more amazing, however, is the position in which the leader of Secularism would place his followers. He is not careful, in certain circumstances, to conceal his own atheism. But, coming before the public as the apostle and expounder of Secularism, he maintains "a discretionary silence" on this point, and *merely* asks, that we practically concur in preferring the present and temporal to the spiritual and future. He does not insist upon it as a *sine quâ non* of Secularism,—that we hold, theoretically, that nature is the only subject of knowledge; that we disbelieve in the existence of a future life and a Personal Deity; but, that we think, feel, and act as if we did. We can understand a man, however much we may condemn his argumentative, and commiserate his moral, position, who, disbelieving in the existence of a Supreme Being and a future state, gives an

exclusive attention to the seen and temporal. But it baffles us to comprehend how, on the supposition that there may be a God and a future life,—yea, how, short of the certainty that there is no God and no future life,—men can reasonably be called upon to live as if there were no God, and as if the present scene were the whole of man. If an individual avow there is no God, then his is a desperate consistency,—but consistency it is,—who turns to the world the practical side of atheism. But if a man cannot go so far as this avowal,—if he has the idea that there may be a God and a future life,—then, we say, it is unpardonable recklessness to ask men to act the part of atheists, while their conscience and moral instincts withhold them from the position of atheism itself; as it would be a moral crime, on their part, did they practically deny God and futurity, give the preference to the seen and present, while feeling that they had no certainty of the non-existence of a Supreme Being, to whom they must hereafter give account. Like some unresolved question in physics, it is required of all would-be Secularists, that they put aside the doctrines of the divine existence and the future condition of man, as not settled. Men can breathe the air and enjoy the light without having any settled opinions, or any opinions at all, about the transmission of the sun's rays through the atmosphere. Their belief or disbelief in the matter does not, in the least, affect their breathing or their seeing. They may move well enough through the world, ignoring all such questions, leaving them open to the solution of intelligence and time, and say, in reference to them, "Not settled." But human nature, from its very constitution, cannot do this in regard to such awfully momentous moral subjects as those now before us. Man's conscience and moral instincts point to the being of a God and to a future life; and, unless our Secularist reformer can fall on some expedient of tearing conscience from the heart of humanity, or of keeping down these instincts as with a dead weight, men will continue to be influenced by them, as questions that are sufficiently settled for operating on their hopes and fears. We must be certain that there is no God to whom we are hereafter accountable, before we can rationally be expected to ignore his existence, to shut up our thoughts and aspirations between the material earth and heavens, and to give the preference exclusively to the seen and temporal. Not only is there no certainty for such negations, but everything points in the contrary direction. The constitution of the world, and the constitution of individual man, independently of that sure word of prophecy, which has "brought life and immortality to light," direct us upward, from the seen to the unseen, from the creature to the Creator, from time to eternity. Thus it is that, both by the strength of our moral instincts, and by the right exercise of our intellect, we arrive at the conclusion of its being settled that nature is *not* the only subject of knowledge. The appeal is made neither to a

man's understanding nor to his conscience; neither the light of his reason nor of his moral sense is invoked; but the passions and depraved inclinations are enlisted, when men are asked, practically to concur in preferring the present and temporal to the future and spiritual.

A second fundamental principle of Secularism, and one which necessarily arises out of the first, is, that *science is the providence of man*. This is the basis on which Mr. George Combe has reared his "Constitution,"—that great storehouse from which Secularism has derived so much of its ammunition,—that wonderful book which our Secularist apostle would carry across the seas, and distribute on the banks of the Ganges; every single copy of which is to do or undo on the Indian mind the work of a hundred New Testaments. We wonder why the mission has not been begun, why there is not a *Reasoner's* fund for this object; and why the apostle, not having succeeded to his heart's wish at home, should not long ago have taken ship, and, with a package of "the People's Edition" of the "Constitution,"—the New Testament of Secularism,—have instilled into the minds of listening Hindoos the great regenerative truth,—that science is the providence of man.

But, leaving the banks of the Ganges as an open field to the great Secularist trio,—Owen, Holyoake, and Combe,—let us look at this dogma which is to be instrumental in effecting the world's salvation. The first thing which strikes us is, that there is some truth in it. But the truth is there, just as the food is in the poisonous dish. It is overborne and destroyed by the error. Nevertheless, the little element of truth is necessary, as a sugar coating to the big pill of falsehood. Science does much for man. It unlocks the great magazine of divine contrivances, and unfolds to our view the wondrous works of God. It furnishes man directly with means for promoting his material well-being. Science, rightly applied, enables us to take care of our health, to ward off danger, and, not unfrequently, is instrumental in rescuing us from peril when involved in it. Every miner who carries with him a Davy's safety-lamp into the atmosphere of fire-damp where he labours; every life-boat that makes its way, like an angel of mercy, to the sinking ship, and rescues the crew from a watery grave; every railway-passenger that carries in his pocket a life-insurance ticket;—all such expedients as these are illustrations of the truth, that in science there is a providence for man. It was not left to our Secularists to discover this, nor is it a principle peculiar to their teaching. Every sick person who has sent for a physician, every householder who has taken the precaution to guard his dwelling against the lightning's stroke, has, in the sense of science supplying us with means for securing material well-being, acted on the belief, that in science there is a providence. But the Secularist principle is something different

from this. It usurps the place of Divine Providence, under whose control are all the providential means of science; and it assumes the monstrous untruth, that science is the *sole* providence of man. To a man who does not believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, distinct from nature, this position is a necessary refuge. It is not so, however, with the enlightened theist. Science conducts us into the region of material laws; but it does not take these laws out of the hands of the lawgiver. They are the means by which God ordinarily carries on his providential government. The existence of law does not more naturally imply the existence of the lawgiver, than does the continued operation of law imply the agency of the law-controller. It is altogether an assumption,—an assumption which leaves inexplicable much in the world's history, and from which our moral instincts, in proportion to their strength, recoil,—that this glorious universe moves on in its march of evolution, and that man fulfils his high destiny, under the providence of no higher power than pre-established laws, or the rules of methodized science. It is agreeable neither to the light of the intellect, nor of the conscience, that science is the providence of man. It is difficult, indeed, to see how any man, unless it be with a view of excluding Him from His moral government, can take up a position that excludes God from His providential agency. And to the natural judgments of mankind, it is much more mysterious to conceive of this world as self-guided, than to conceive of it as upheld by the power, and governed by the wisdom, of Him who called it into existence.

As a sort of corollary to this proposition, it is added, "spiritual dependence may lead to material destruction." Here is truth, also; but not the truth which our Secularist designs to convey. His meaning, as first stated by him, is, that *absolute* spiritual dependence may lead to material destruction. But, as if conscious of exaggeration,—feeling it to be too palpable, that absolute spiritual dependence is not the doctrine of Scripture, nor of any body of Christians,—he afterwards modifies the expression, while he argues according to its original form. If a man expects the accomplishment of certain ends, without using the appropriately prescribed means, that is spiritual dependence,—absolute spiritual dependence,—and it may lead, yea, in certain cases, infallibly will lead, to material destruction. Let a man, for example, pray ever so long, and with ever so much seeming fervour, "Give us this day our daily bread," while doggedly refusing to work; and the likelihood is, that his spiritual dependence will involve his material destruction. But no man of common honesty will hold this forth as the doctrine of the Bible. The Great Teacher sent from God, when tempted in the wilderness to exercise such absolute spiritual dependence, repelled the temptation with all the strength of his holy indignation. Scripture precepts, which always link human duty and divine promise

together, thus embodying in their connexion the truth of Solomon's saying, "The hand of the diligent maketh rich," disown the doctrine. Never was it believed or acted on by any who, according to general consent, have been distinguished for Christian excellence and benevolent enterprise. The choicest spirits of our race—the true regenerators of the world, the great Reformers of the Church, as well as individuals illustrious for their private worth and benignant doings—have habitually exercised spiritual dependence, but never absolute spiritual dependence. The Secularist expounder knows very well, that the perversion of a doctrine is no proof against the doctrine itself; but it serves his purpose, when mounted on the back of the corruptions of Christianity, to run a tilt against Christianity itself. Were an individual to throw himself down from the London Monument, pretending to trust in the promise,—a promise applicable to no such circumstances,—“He shall give his angels charge over thee; they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone,”—the halls of Secularism would forthwith resound with it; and working-men would be pointed to it, as an illustration of the dogma, that spiritual dependence may lead to material destruction. The objection, as thus urged, might be levelled against every kind of dependence. It might be argued, that a child should place no dependence in his father, because an idle son, contrary to all precept and promise, trusting to his father's resources, was left in abject poverty. We have no controversy, then, with Secularists as to the truth of the abstract proposition. We believe that spiritual dependence, in a certain sense, may lead to material destruction; just as we believe that, in another sense, it may not.

But we have an irreconcilable objection to the inference which they draw from it. On this ground, they declaim against prayer as mischievous and useless; and consider themselves entitled to conclude, that there is no Divine Providence in the world. Prayer cannot be useless, since it is one of our moral instincts. It has a foundation in the very constituent principles of human nature. Men may live without it when their mountain stands strong, when the sky is bright above them, and all is peaceful around them. But, unless a very decided thwarting process has previously been accomplished, there is no instinctive impulse of man's heart that more readily manifests itself, than the cry for help from above, in the season of suffering or peril. Like all our other moral instincts, it is liable to be perverted, manifested in a wrong way, or misdirected in its objects; but the instinct itself is as common as humanity. Its workings are seen in all religions. And on the very reasonable principle, that universally diffused modes of feeling cannot be factitious, but must be natural, do we maintain, that prayer has a firm footing in the moral nature of man. Should it, moreover, be affirmed, that prayer is useless, because it pre-supposes mutability

in the divine purposes, we deny the implication; and deem it sufficient to reply, that it is among the fixed purposes of God, that men must ask for good things in order to obtain them; that in this way we must acknowledge God's supremacy, and our dependence upon Him; that the duty of praying on man's part, as well as the act of giving on God's part, is embraced in the counsels of Him with whom is no variableness, nor any shadow of turning. "For these things will I yet be inquired of," is the immutable decree of Heaven.

But the inutility of prayer is farther alleged on account of its being often unanswered, and the uncertainty, in other cases, whether it be answered or not. These are certainly not very formidable objections. There is not a single passage in the Bible, rightly understood, which warrants the expectation that all prayers would be answered; and no enlightened believer ever prayed under the conviction that all his specific petitions would be answered in a specific way. The general promise is, that God will withhold no good thing from those who petition in a right frame of mind, and in the divinely-appointed manner. It is dependence on this promise that the enlightened believer manifests, in all the special calls for help which he addresses to Heaven; and not dependence on any promise of his particular petition being answered in a particular way. Confidence in the divine wisdom and goodness, and devout submission to the divine will, enter into the very spirit of prayer. "Thou, Father, knowest what is best for me. Not my will, but thine be done." This is the pervading sentiment, uttered or unexpressed, of all true prayer at the mercy-seat. And we appeal to the experience of every man who has led a life of piety, if, in the non-fulfilment of many of his specific petitions, and in the inward help which he received to drink the cup which he prayed might pass from him, his general welfare has not been more truly promoted, and he has not had a richer experience of the truth, that the Hearer of prayer is faithful to His promise, of withholding no good thing from them that ask Him. It were impossible that all specific petitions should be specially answered; and, were it possible, evil in many cases, instead of good, would be the result. We certainly do not hold that prayer is exclusively reflex in its influence, though in that reflex influence we acknowledge part of the blessing; but, on the broad principle which regulates the divine procedure in making all things work together for His people's good, we hold that there is an objective fulfilment in denying as well as in granting. It were just as valid an argument for a child to place no dependence on his father, because that father, from a regard to the child's well-being, refuses him certain things solicited, as it is for a child of God to exercise no spiritual dependence on his heavenly Father, because that Father, in fulfilment of the promise of withholding no good thing, withholds certain things specially prayed for.

The practical argument, however, in this case, as in other

cases, is the true one; and that is, that notwithstanding the metaphysical difficulties which encompass the subject, prayer places us in the attitude best fitted for enduring trials and improving our condition, for resisting evil and aspiring after good. A false spiritual dependence may check human exertion, just as any other false dependence may; but a true spiritual dependence—the attitude in which a man is placed by prayer—stimulates and strengthens it. It is not to the monk in his cave, nor to the nun in her convent, that we look for the practical influence of the Scriptural doctrine of spiritual dependence; but to men of enlightened faith, who have stood forth and battled with the world's vices, and have been chiefly instrumental in carrying on the world's regeneration, or to those who, in private, are shedding noiselessly a hallowed influence around them, and, like their Lord and Master, going about doing good.

But, after all, what does the Secularist objection to the doctrine of Divine Providence amount to? Simply to this,—Interpositions do not take place, and help does not come, at the time and in the way which it is imagined they should. That is to say, a short-sighted mortal, whose view is limited but to a point in a universal system, sits in judgment on the divine procedure, as if he knew the end from the beginning, all the reasons for so acting towards that point, and all its relations to the entire system of which it forms so small a part. The highest human intellect is as sure to err here as a child, accustomed to its cabinet of toys, were that child to give forth its judgment as to the course which, in every case, should be pursued by a cabinet of princes. Doubtless, we would wish that ships should never take fire at sea; that railway accidents should never happen; that Poland, Hungary, and Italy were rescued from the grasp of civil and ecclesiastical despotism; and, had we possessed the means, we would have saved the "Amazon," and have driven back the armies of Austria and Russia; just as, if we had the power, we would dispense with ships and railways altogether, and take to ourselves wings, and never suffer a despot to sway the sceptre, nor even suffer a despot to be made. But because we would have done this, it is certainly not very wise to say, that Divine Providence would have done it, and then to leap to the conclusion, that because it has not been done, there is no Divine Providence. It is an atom arraigning the moral administration of a world! The Castilian who ventured to declare, that if he had been admitted into the divine counsels, he would have suggested some improvements in the affairs of the universe, is not a personage whom we are wont to admire for his wisdom, but to pity for his weakness, and to condemn on account of his impiety. The weakness and impiety in the case before us are just as pitiable and execrable. In opposition to the Secularist preconception, we would place another, which we deem much more legitimate, *viz.*, that if God exercises a providence in the world, the ways of that providence must, in

many respects, be to us inexplicable. It were just as rational to expect, that we should be able fully to comprehend the divine existence, as to comprehend the divine procedure. We know enough of the wisdom and goodness of the divine dealings to warrant us to conclude, that if we knew them all, we should be convinced that they are worthy of Him who is the best and greatest of all beings. Alphonso's improvements in the physical system would not more certainly have proved destructive blunders, than our Secularist's improvements in the moral system. Like Miranda, he would have sunk the sea within the earth, rather than that the ill-fated "Amazon" and her helpless crew had been swallowed up; and he would sweep oppression clean from the face of the earth on the morrow. Be it remembered, that the magnanimous philosopher who thus speaks is he who objects, that the New-Testament doctrine of spiritual dependence leads to material destruction, and checks human exertion! If the sailors and crews of Amazons had such interposition as this to trust in, why take precautions against danger? Dismiss the sailors and let go the ship, and Secularism will take care of her, even though it be at the expense of sinking the sea within the earth! Secularism—benevolent Secularism!—would at once level the mountains or exalt the plains of this world. It would put individual man in possession of material wealth, and nations in possession of civil liberty, without making them pass through any preparatory process of discipline. There would be no pages of patriotism,—no deeds of heroic valour,—no patience and fortitude manifested under sufferings,—no occasion for showing sympathy to the distressed; the moral world, in short, would become a dull level plain under the government of Secularism. The hills of difficulty up which nations and individuals have to struggle,—the sea of storms through which our frail barks have to pass,—affording, as they do, occasions for calling forth our best energies and cultivating the moral virtues, bringing us at last to the clear top and the peaceful haven,—are in themselves sufficient, notwithstanding all mystery, to enable us to

"Assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men."

Whether it be consistent with fact, or not, Secularism is at least consistent with itself, and with its two former positions, in maintaining that *morals are independent of the New Testament*. The three tenets may be said to constitute the A B C of the system, and to lie at the basis of a sound Secularist education. If nature be the only subject of knowledge, and if in science be all the providence which man needs, then the New Testament is either useless as a guide, or impossible, in the sense of its being a revelation from heaven. But the last position is as baseless as the two former ones. Bring it to the bar of experience, and it vanishes like smoke. If all that is done in the name of Chris-

tianity were to be taken as the legitimate fruit of Christianity itself, then it might be maintained, not only that morals are independent of the New Testament, but that the New Testament is opposed to morals. This, however, would be just as honest a trick as to judge of good guineas from bad ones, or to estimate the pure waters of a fountain by the streams which have been corrupted in flowing from it. The broad fact, that immoral professing Christians are reproached by the world with inconsistency, is in itself a proof that the New Testament, in general estimation, is not unfavourable to morals. As to morals being independent of the New Testament, the proposition may be fairly tested, by considering what was the moral state of the world before the New Testament appeared, and what is the moral state of nations and individuals, generally speaking, who are either ignorant of it or uninfluenced by it. It would betray no little hardihood, to assert that Greece and Rome, even in the height of their intellectual refinement, could bear comparison, in a moral point of view, with the present social condition of England, where, though the artistic skill of the Greeks is wanting, the presence of the New Testament is felt. The wretchedly vicious and degraded portion of our fellow-subjects, living in towns and villages, are not generally regarded as persons living under the influence of the New Testament, but as those who need to be brought under it, in order to reach a sound morality. The South Sea Islands, prior to the introduction of Christianity, were reckoned among "the dark places of the earth," which "are full of the habitations of cruelty:" those of them that have come under the influence of the teaching of the New Testament have, in a great measure, verified the prophetic description of the wilderness and the solitary place becoming glad, and the desert rejoicing and blossoming as the rose. It may, indeed, be laid down as an incontrovertible fact, that individuals and communities rise in the scale of morality, in proportion as they are leavened by that anti-Secularist book, the New Testament, and that they are morally low without the Christian influence, or in the presence of its corruptions. Our Secularists, it is true, look over the nations, and to particular individuals, for proof that morals are independent of the New Testament; but what is the proof? It is not derived from the actual moral state of the Hindoos, the Chinese, the Greeks, the Persians; but from some stray sentiments in the ancient Hindoo literature,—from some solitary saying of Confucius,—from some isolated parcels of fine fruit which are to be found in the writings of Plato,—or from some beautiful Persian maxim, inculcating the duty of forgiving and blessing enemies. These simply prove the existence of a moral sense, and that men often see the good, though they follow the evil. It has been said of some of the ancient philosophers, that they talked of virtue like angels, while they lived like brutes. The question is not, Were there any fine moral sayings in

heathen literature? but, Was Heathenism capable of renovating man? History, written in many cases by men who had no great love to the New Testament, declares that it was not. And why? Its teaching, viewed as a whole, notwithstanding the few grains of good that here and there appeared, was miserably imperfect. It had no perfect model of virtue to which it could appeal. It wanted a higher than human authority. It was destitute of influences to sound the depths of human depravity,—to raise man up in the moral scale,—and to transform him from earthly to divine. These elements of moral grandeur are the exclusive property of the Sacred Writings. In vain do we look for them in Plato, or in Confucius, in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, or among the maxims of Persian poets. The lever of moral elevation being wanting, the communities to which these philosophers and poets belonged continued, age after age, occupying the same low level, if not sinking lower and lower. Christianity, with the lever, has come among peoples who could boast of no such philosophers, and has raised them to a pitch of moral excellence such as Greece and Persia, with all their literary resources, never reached, and to which they never aspired. In the view of the world's history, it is idle to talk of making the human race moral, independently of the New Testament.

A very natural inquiry here is, What guarantees of morality does Secularism then possess? The first, we are told, is to be found in human nature itself,—in the sum of its natural passions and qualities. No higher view of human nature than this could well be given. If true, then assuredly it is a libel to speak of our nature as sinful and depraved; and it would evince an unwarrantable want of faith in it, to distrust its spontaneous impulses. A self-governing body, and yet needing for its government external impulses and correctives, is something like a contradiction. Yea, more;—if human nature has such guarantees in itself, we may wonder how it has everywhere followed devious courses, so that Secularism, and many other philosophies, have been wanted in order to set it right. But Secularism here is not consistent with itself. It has taken a high position, but, feeling the footing untenable, it involuntarily descends a little lower. It reminds us of some sermons, in which the young preacher takes a lofty and long flight, by way of introduction, thereby leading his audience to expect a magnificent and highly-sustained sequel; but the wing soon lowers, and sweeps somewhat heavily and tamely a little above ground. It seems to us like a house, by which we frequently pass, the porch of which might betoken a palace of princes, the after-part of which would intimate a cottage of peasants. Secularism, after an introductory flourish about human nature being in itself a guarantee of morality, becomes meek and lowly, and tells us that it does not mean to say, without qualification, that we should follow our bias. The

state of society, notwithstanding the sufficient guarantee of morality in human nature, has gotten so much out of order, that were we to say "to the young, without qualification, 'Consult your aptitude, follow your bias,' the sordid might lay their vulture-claws on their neighbours, and the immoral and unprincipled might victimize their fellows." This is virtually giving up the question, and is a practical acknowledgment that human nature is not itself a guarantee of morality. Some other guarantee is needed, to reclaim human nature from its wanderings, and to guide it on the right path. Secularism, however, does not abandon its position. The preacher to whom we referred, not unfrequently, re-mounts on eagle-wing in the peroration; and thus throws a link over the dead level, so as to connect the magniloquence of the end with the magniloquence of the beginning. In like manner, our Secularist apostle, after having, by his qualifying statements, descended from the mount of assumption, soars to the high ground again, and descants about many persons who hardly ever sin, and the passion for goodness naturally possessed by some men and women; and then, with an ineffable degree of complacency, concludes the position to be proved,—that human nature, without New-Testament teaching, is itself a guarantee of morality.

We remember, in our school-boy days, a very dull but ambitious fellow, who was always promising to do great things, and who always failed in his undertakings. There was, in fact, in him about as well-balanced a mixture of presumption and imbecility as could be imagined. Invariably he was taunted with his failures, and as invariably he blamed his fellows, or the state of the school-society. It was no fault on his part. He could do the thing; but how could he be expected to do it in such circumstances? Secularism presumes to make men moral, to elevate humanity, to set it and keep it on the right path, independently of the New Testament. When we ask our Secularist philosophers why they do not do it, and why, since a Secularist philosophy has ever been in the world, the thing has not been done long ago; the failure is thrown upon "this half-nurtured, half-trained, doubtfully-conditioned state of society." The New Testament takes for granted, that man is wrong individually and socially; and it brings to bear upon mankind elements and influences of moral renovation, and in thousands of instances it has re-cast and elevated humanity. Secularism fails in putting human nature right, because human nature has gone wrong. "The whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." If the same disease which the physician Secularism fails to cure, is cured in multitudes of cases by the physician Christianity, the warrantable course is, to denounce the former as a quack, and to accept the latter as the tried and true restorer. The reason of failure is always the same with such benevolent philanthropists. They would lead the masses to El Dorado, but there are so many

barriers in the way ; they would rescue humanity from the ills "which flesh is heir to," were it not that so many ills prevent them. The ground is wanting on which to place the Secularist machine, otherwise they would move the universe. Owenism failed, even after it got to Harmony. Cabet led men to ruin, in leading them to Icaria, instead of bringing them to the land of promise. Secularism also fails in its efforts of moral regeneration, because of the unfavourable state of society ; and so would it, were society any thing short of a conditioned state in which it would need no remedial interference.

It is no very great objection to a system, that to all its rules there are some exceptions. It is otherwise, however, when the exceptions cover fully as much ground, if not more, than the rule itself. The broad general principle laid down by Secularism is, that in the well-balanced feelings of human nature is to be found, independent of New-Testament teaching, a guarantee of morality. But this guarantee, after all, is confessed to be but a small and feeble shield. Instead of being a wall of defence to human nature, broadly considered, it guards only a certain "order of persons." There are two other "orders" besides, in whom the "well-balanced feelings" inclining to morality have no place. These are, first, the "less-happily constituted,"—the vicious, but not dull ; and, secondly, those who are both dull and vicious. These certainly constitute no small portion of humanity as now existing ; at least, the portion is large enough to denounce it as a great untruth, that in human nature itself is a guarantee of morality. Does Secularism give up these, or hand them over to some other system ? Not it. Secularism is the grand panacea. It has eyes for the blind, feet for the lame, ears for the deaf, and tongues for the dumb. The guarantee to the first of these large exceptional orders is to be found in knowledge ; being misdirected by error, they are to be governed aright by ideas. The guarantee to the second of these orders is utility, or an appeal to the sense of interest ; cases in which appeals to the intellectual beauty and harmony of the thing have been vain, are to be won over to virtue on the low ground of calculation.

Who doubts the dominion of ideas ? Man everywhere is under their influence. Secular or anti-Secular ideas, earthly or heavenly ideas, govern the human race. Mr. Holyoake—in his efforts to keep human affairs free from the notions of a God and a future state, and in his practical development of his objectively pantheistic tenet, that the nature we know is the God we seek—exemplifies the power of ideas. Mr. Grant, too, exemplifies the power of ideas,—ideas of a different kind, indeed,—in arguing that the Gospel of Christ is the only effectual means of morally regenerating man. The question is, What are the ideas under the dominion of which men must be put, in order to have their errors corrected, and their moral sense rightly cultivated ? It is true, that bad machinery is an object of abhorrence to the

accomplished mechanic, that the fine-eared musician cannot endure false notes, and that a bad painting is apt to put a good painter in a rage. Not less true is it, that vice is hideous to the man whose moral sense has been properly cultivated. The right inference from the whole of which certainly is, that as the way to make men accomplished mechanics is to teach them right principles of mechanics, and to set before them true models, so the effectual method of making men virtuous is, to teach them what is good, and to exhibit to them a perfect human example. When the Great Teacher said, "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent," he asserted the dominion of ideas, and indicated that knowledge whose majestic influence would lead men to virtue and happiness. It is pointless to talk, as our Secularists do, about appeals to "the artistic moral sense." It is merely beating the air, and flourishing the trumpets, vaunting aloud on high ground, and refusing to come to close quarters in the plain. We call for proof that Secularism, during the long period and under the many forms in which it has existed in the world, has regenerated any portion, however small, of the human family. To what reclaimed moral waste can it point? what hills of error has it levelled? what streams of pollution has it diverted or dried up? Christianity, with its dominion of ideas, has cultivated the moral sense, silently, gradually, but not the less efficiently, in almost every human tribe living under heaven; so that the powerful influence of Christian intelligence "rules a million of men now, whom lust, rage, and rapine would have ruled in a former age." It has done this, not by the mere cultivation of knowledge and refined feeling, but by the regenerating influences of God's Spirit accompanying the truth, and bringing it to bear on the hearts of men. The close connexion between crime and ignorance is too palpable to be denied. Every statistical return from our prisons demonstrates it. We heartily join in the cry, "Educate the people." But it betrays the want of a deep acquaintance with the human heart, and an unfair overlooking of the broad evidence of history, to think that mere intellectual cultivation is all that is needed to rectify man's errors, and to overcome his perverted bias. Greece, when at the very height of intellectual refinement, was sunk in the depths of immorality. Her poets, her painters, her statuaries, her orators, her philosophers, had the most perfect sense of artistic beauty. They appealed to it, and endeavoured to cultivate it in other men; while they themselves, and those to whom they appealed, were living in a state of gross sensualism. Secularism, in its deviations, has only brought us round to the same point, and enables us to reiterate, with greater faith and fervour, that we have as yet found no "order" of persons attaining to a high morality independently of the New Testament.

Driven from one refuge, Secularism resorts to another. Some men, it is confessed, are not good, but vicious, by nature; consequently, human nature itself cannot be a guarantee of morality in their case. Others, it is admitted, cannot be controlled by the culture of the "artistic sense;" they are both vicious and dull. But Secularism has a special appliance for this large class of the human race. It promises that their dulness will brighten, and they will repair to the fountain of purification, at the sound of utility, or an appeal to the sense of interest. The conclusion, doubtless, is drawn from analogy, and the analogy, probably, is this:—at the announcement of the discovery of the Australian gold mines, thousands left their homes in search of the great treasure; so, when Secularists go among those who have no "well-balanced" feelings inclining them to morality, and no "artistic sense" capable of being cultivated, and tell them of the mines of virtue to which Secularism leads, the slaves of vice will break their bands asunder, the sons of dulness will become children of light, and, for the sake of interest, all will relinquish vice, and follow after virtue. It is amazing with what complacency our Secularist expounder says, "*We* will show the dull, vicious man, that no other course will profit but a course of virtue." As if this were an expedient left for Secularism, upon which the ends of the world have come! The expedient is as old as the creation. And though Mr. Holyoake will not admit that any of the bars of gold in the Bible are comparable to the little gem of a saying of Confucius, it may be well to remind those who take the law from his lips, that the Book of God not unfrequently appeals to men's sense of interest. This is but a specimen: "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness." No book abounds in such impressive representations of the folly of vice, and the profitableness of virtue, as the Bible. Prophets and Apostles, the Great Teacher himself, and those who speak in his name every Sabbath,—all appeal, in the enlarged acceptation of the term, to the sense of utility. The test of efficiency, as regards the appeal on both sides, comes to be considered. In thousands of cases, where Secularism of every name has failed, the teaching of the New Testament has enlightened the dark souls of the dull, and thoroughly reformed the vicious. As to other cases, where the teaching of the New Testament has been resisted, we ask, where, in them, are to be seen the lovely transformations of Secularism? The Secularist's new moral world is like the philosopher's stone,—almost every body has heard of it, though nobody ever has seen any thing of it. It is all existing in big expectation. Not even

so much as an earnest of the inheritance has been realized. The new moral world of Christianity is like the golden regions beyond the seas. Vast quantities of the precious metal have been brought to light, and thousands have been enriched by it,—an indication of the great wealth of the whole territory. That “godliness is profitable unto all things,” is a truth to which millions of our race in both worlds could bear practical testimony. But it is like seeking the living among the dead to ask, Where are the morally profitable results of Secularism?

Men, however, must become virtuous, and be strengthened for a steady course of virtuous action, on some higher ground than the calculations of expediency. It will not do for a man to be always looking at the moral balance-sheet. He must, in thousands of instances, respond to the claims of virtue without coolly reckoning the probable results, as when he invests his money, or transacts business at the Exchange. “We want virtue,” as Mr. Binney, in his very valuable work,* remarks, “we want virtue to spring from something that shall secure *it*,—independently of the thought of what *it* is to secure. We want men to have within them a principle of obedience, which shall prescribe and enforce morality, on other grounds than its present beneficial results. Men must be virtuous without everlastingly thinking of what virtue is to do for them.” Such a security Secularism has not. It is only to be found in the faith of *the truth*,—a believing regard to the revealed will of God. The principle of religious faith becomes in the heart of man a well of living water, out of which flow, readily and constantly, streams of holy obedience. It, to use the expressive language of Scripture, works by love, purifies the heart, and overcomes the world. “The mind, brought under the influence of feelings and motives inspired by what is distinct from all that lies within the circle of mundane and temporal things, is subjected to a law whose voice is clear, resolute, and uniform; which prescribes the right, not the expedient; and which opposes the power of a *principle* to the impulse of passion, and the plausibility of appearances;—a principle rooted in religious faith,—that faith which connects the present with the future, the throne with the judgment-seat of God. This law, however, which secures virtue by motives drawn from a higher region and another world, will, *as a matter of fact*, be found to work beneficially in relation to this lower sphere, and to man’s present temporary life.”

It is not to be expected that those who think to make men virtuous and happy independently altogether of the New Testament, will, however, let the New Testament alone. Jesus might have had a place in the Pantheon of the ancients, and his religion would have been tolerated at Rome, had he, instead of

* “Is it Possible to make the Best of both Worlds?”

claiming supreme and exclusive homage, submitted to divide it with other gods, and had he taught Christianity as *a* system of regenerating the world, instead of exhibiting it as *the* only system adequate to that end. No man can serve both Secularism and the Gospel. They pull opposite ways, and give contradictory commands; so that "he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will cleave to the one and despise the other." Hence the New Testament is not simply a book that our Secularist regenerators can do without. It meets them, in all the vigour of life and immortality, at every point in their progress, frustrates all their great efforts, and threatens to silence all their oracles. No wonder, then, that its character is hideous, and its condemnation sealed, at the Secularist judgment-seat.

There are three grand things in the New Testament, which our Secularist assailants, in common with others, cannot endure. These are the character of Christ, the doctrine of the atonement, and the necessity of faith to salvation. One general remark applies to all the objections urged against them. They are derived from a very contracted view, they are raised on the ground of petty, not to say carping, criticism, and they are resolvable into a wilful breaking up of perfect harmonies. Part is wrenched from part, and the one is set over against the other, so as to give the appearance of discord to what, when properly viewed, forms one harmonious whole.

Take the character of Christ. It has some very marked contrasts. There are, what may be called, its gentler and severer aspects, which, as exhibited in the evangelical history, constitute its perfection; but which, as rent asunder and held up to the world by Secularism, constitute a character double-faced and incongruous. Mr. Holyoake insists, that there are two Christs in the New Testament, because our Lord unites in himself qualifications apparently opposite; and, on the very foolish assumption, that Christ did nothing, or should have done nothing, but what we may imitate, asks, with great apparent simplicity, "Which of the two are we to imitate, the mild or the severe?" He tells an audience of sensible Englishmen, that he could not trust Him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me," because He also said, "He that believeth not shall be damned;" that he could have no confidence in Him who said, "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you," while he thought of Him saying, with not less emphasis, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven." The warnings of woe terrible as the thunder, and the words of consolation gentle as the dew-drops, could no more have fallen, it is maintained, from the lips of one perfect Christ, than a fountain can send forth, at the same place, sweet water and bitter. The appeal here is not to men's judgment, but to their feelings; not to men's reason, but to their passions. We love gentleness, we dislike severity. But every man of judgment sees

that there are thousands of instances in which the gentleness would be misplaced and destructive of all right government, and in which the severity is absolutely necessary for the ends of righteousness and truth. Were our Secularist apostle to believe in a God, he must, on the principle that he asserts the existence of two Christs in the New Testament, maintain that there are two Gods in nature,—God the gentle, and God the austere. He must say, "I could not trust Him who is said to be love, and to make his sun to rise on the evil and on the good; while I thought of Him inflicting, in his providence, such judgments on men and nations." Even on the supposition of the truthfulness of his own dogma, that the nature we know is the God we seek, still there are the two aspects,—nature the gentle, and nature the austere,—nature invested with sun-light, and shedding down benignant gifts on the children of men, and nature wrapped in storms, and scattering desolation over the earth. "Which of them," might our nature-worshipper ask, "am I to imitate?" The great God, who made and commands all things, is at once a Father and a King,—two aspects of character in no wise irreconcilable; but, did we assume the paternal aspect to be explanatory of the whole, we should find much in the government of the world to belie the assumption. The paternal and the regal aspects are twin glories, which blend most harmoniously in the divine character. Both are illustrious and perfectly consistent manifestations of the one glorious God. He does much, in the one relation, in which we may well be imitators of him. He does much, in the other relation, in which it would be an invasion of his prerogative to attempt to resemble him. So is it with the character of Christ. There are in it two aspects,—that of the Parent, or Saviour, and that of the King, or Judge. In the one aspect, he is, in many respects, an example for our imitation; in the other aspect, he is, in a great measure, imitable,—invested with prerogatives that belong to no created intelligence. "I am a King," said he with conscious dignity; "to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." He stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said, "Behold my mother and my brethren." In the latter case, we see Christ in all his gentleness; in the former, we see Christ in something of his stern dignity. Not only is there no contradiction between them, but they were manifestations essential to the full exhibition of his transcendent character. His gentleness was always consistent with his unbending integrity, and faithfulness to his high mission; and his severity was always in keeping with his compassion and benignity. None but a Secularist teacher—one who wished to pick holes in the fairest of characters—would have fastened an objection on the faithful denunciations which Christ uttered against the Scribes and Pharisees, the perverters of the truth, the oppressors of the helpless, the evil leaders of the people.

Christ gentle to such men! This would have been an abnegation of his character as a witness to the truth. It would have placed him in the position of a man, whose tenderness had degenerated into connivance at evil. It would have disqualified him for the great work of reclaiming and regenerating the world; for he, who was so complaisant as to be unable to reprove men for their vices, could not be a very efficient agent in effecting their regeneration. Nothing is so abhorrent to every rightly-constituted mind, as hypocrisy. Anger is not evil in itself; it is a principle inherent in our very nature; and an appropriate object of it is malignity cloaked under the assumed garb of superior sanctity, such as was manifested by the Pharisees. To describe men who were strangers to every feeling of piety or benevolence, while making great pretensions to both,—men who strained at a gnat, and swallowed a camel, men who made long prayers for a pretence, and devoured widows' houses,—to describe them as wolves in sheep's clothing, sepulchres painted without, and full of rottenness within, and to denounce them as a generation of vipers, was only acting according to the real nature of things, and in a way becoming Him who is at once the Judge and the Deliverer of mankind. Is it for such masked oppressors that Secularists reserve their sympathies, while none is expressed toward the multitudes who had been left by these false guides, as sheep without a shepherd? Is there not a word of sympathy for that Holy and Benignant One whom these Pharisees maligned, and endeavoured to ensnare, while He was going about, like the embodied spirit of benevolence, continually doing good? Then, we say, it comes with an ill grace from such men to talk, as they do, of the oppressors of Hungary, and to pretend to sympathize with the people of Italy. Had Christ only manifested a soft, silky sentimentalism towards these Pharisees, had he, instead of firmly denouncing their guilt, and justly characterizing the perpetrators, dealt in gentle names and fine feeling expressions, what an outcry would our Secularists have raised against him! The generation of Secularists is "like unto children sitting in the markets, and calling unto their fellows, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented." They reproach the Bible, because, as a faithful record of the world's history, and the warning voice of Providence, it contains some narratives of crimes. Doubtless, more formidable objections would have been urged by them against the Book, had these narratives been wanting, than are now urged on account of their presence. The character of Christ, in its sublime harmony, and mighty influence for good on the human race, stands far above all such vile and stupid assaults. Not a few of the antagonists of Christianity, in past times, have done it homage. The more closely we inspect it, the higher does it rise before us in its majesty, the fairer does it shine in its spotless purity, the nearer does it carry us to the pure light in which dwells the living God. "It

is," to borrow the words of a German writer, "it is the jewel of humanity ; and whoever knowingly tarnishes or disfigures it, commits an outrage against the majesty of the heaven-born soul of man, in its most beauteous manifestations. . . . As a saint who knew Christianity from the life once said, in his heart-winning way,—' One might well consent to be branded and broken on the wheel, merely for the idea of such a character as Christ's ; and if any one should be able to mock and deride, he must be insane.' "

The bitterness and unfairness of infidelity are never more strikingly displayed, than in relation to the great Bible doctrine of the *atonement*. Secularism, in these qualities, lacks nothing. The doctrine is either culpably misunderstood, or grossly misrepresented, and we confess it requires no little patience to bear with the ignorance, or to endure the dishonesty, accompanied, as they are, with all the confidence of affected knowledge, and the semblance of candour. The atonement is that work of self-moved divine benignity, on the ground of which the moral Governor of the universe can, in perfect consistency with the holiness of his character, and the rectitude of his administration, bestow on believing men a free and full forgiveness, deliver them from the state of the condemned, and form them to the character of the holy. It implies man's guilt, and depravity, and liability to punishment, and it illustriously and impressively manifests the "just God and the Saviour." Men of the largest minds, the choicest spirits of our race, the world's regenerators, have been disposed to say, in proportion as they understood and felt the influence of this doctrine, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross !" But the Secularist objection is, that the Christian atonement is unsatisfactory as a scheme, and immoral as an example. These are grave charges. We shall see whether or not, like some of the other well-rounded propositions of Secularism, they do not turn out "great swelling words of vanity." The universal sinfulness of man is implied in the atonement, just as the disease is implied in the remedy ; and this our Secularists cannot away with. "It snaps the sinews of moral effort, whereas the doctrine of the elementary goodness of human nature is a powerful inducement to purity and perseverance in wholesome development." Now, the first question is, not what the doctrine does, but whether it be true ? Doubtless, the sinews of moral effort are not so strong and elastic in sinful beings, as in holy beings. The Apostle Paul acknowledged and mourned over this. It was the agony of his soul that, in consequence of the presence of evil, he could not do the things that he would. To say that sin, or human depravity, impairs moral effort, is something like saying that a fever impairs physical effort. In other words, the ground on which an objection is alleged against the evil, is just a phase of the evil itself. The inquiry, in the one case, is not as

to the depressing influence of the fever, but as to whether the man be suffering under it. The inquiry, in the other case, is not as to whether men, in a state of elementary goodness, or in a state of depravity, will put forth most moral effort, but which of these two states is the situation of the race, as now existing. Come out of the region of abstract theory, down to the world of broad, palpable realities. And here we ask, Is that world, or is any section of the humanity it contains, such as we should have expected it to have been, on the supposition of the elementary goodness of human nature? or is it not the exact counterpart of the doctrine, that mankind is under the depraving influence of sin? To us it seems just as reasonable to deny the prevalence of disease in a hospital, as to deny the universal sinfulness of man. It is a vain charge to bring against the atonement doctrine, and a somewhat curious test of its unsatisfactoriness as a scheme, that it implies the prevalence of moral evil in the world. It is just as if an individual were to condemn pathology as a science, because it is founded on the supposition, that the race is physically diseased. It is a question of fact, not of theory. And the fact is not to be thrust aside, by talking about the elementary goodness of human nature, and asserting that there are some persons who hardly ever sin. We must have evidence of the existence of human beings who never sin, and who never manifest any sinful propensities, before we can give up the scriptural statement, that "all have sinned." Secularism, in failing to find guarantees of morality in human nature independent of the New Testament, and in having recourse to other expedients for reclaiming the vicious, and awakening the dull,—the viciousness and the insensibility being manifestations of the inherent disease,—has virtually acknowledged the truth, implied in the atonement doctrine, of the universal sinfulness of man. The thing exists in the world as independent of Christianity as of Secularism. The difference lies in the mode of treating it. Christianity recognises the mountain in all its size, strength, and deep-rootedness, and sets to work, most effectually, in order to remove it. It opens its eyes, and fairly looks on the wilderness, and goes on reclaiming and converting it into a fruitful field. In other words, it supposes the universality and virulence of the malady, and professes to have in itself the only sure remedy. These professions, like all other professions, are to be tested by deeds, and to this standard Christianity appeals. Secularism speaks as if it would deny the thing, and yet cannot do so. It is ever calling it by soft names, half doubting its existence, yet ever baffled by it, and doing nothing but promising to counteract it. We humbly submit that, to talk to men, conscious of the existence of depravity, about the elementary goodness of human nature, is not only to ridicule the species, but to "snap the sinews of moral effort." It is calling upon them to act the fallacy of being strong and healthy, while they are weak and

diseased ; and, instead of furnishing them with restoratives, telling them that their weakness is but imaginary. Such is the encouragement to moral effort given by Secularism ! It is Christianity, in its recognition of man's sinfulness, and in its ample provision for overcoming it, that furnishes the "powerful inducement to purity and perseverance in wholesome development."

But, says our Secularist apostle, eternal punishments are the insuperable objection ; and these constitute "the central fact of the theory of the atonement." It served his purpose, as a disputant, to make this assumption. Punishments of any kind are not very popular in mixed audiences ; and especially punishments administered under the moral government of God. On this subject, men, who are weak on other points, grow eloquent. It affords a fine theme for declamation ; and the declaimer is almost sure to carry along with him a large part of a popular audience, if, as was the case in the London Secularist discussion, the audience is very much composed of persons prejudiced against the subject. How often have we seen men hard pushed in argument, and about to become speechless, make an *ad captandum* bound to the doctrine of eternal punishments ! But does it serve the cause of truth to declaim on such an assumption as this ? We trow not. The doctrine of eternal punishments is no more a part of the atonement theory, than the Lisbon earthquake, or the London plague. It is only from the Bible—the solitary book which reveals it—that we learn what the Christian atonement is. We challenge our opponents to produce a single passage from the inspired volume, in proof that the doctrine of eternal punishments is the central fact of the theory of the atonement. It might as well be said, that the sufferings occasioned by broken bones and dislocated joints are the central fact of the theory of the art of healing. It is true, that, as the disease and its consequences have called forth the remedy, so sin and its consequences have occasioned the atonement. Had there been no bodily wounds and bruises, and no physical suffering, surgery, as a science, would have had no existence. These are implied in the healing art ; but it were wrong to say that they constitute the central fact of it, because they exist quite independently of it. Had there been no sin in the world, or no penalty connected with it, no atonement would have been provided, as none would have been needed. The atonement is based on the supposition, that man is a sinner, and, as such, exposed to everlasting destruction ; but as the sin and the penalty existed before the atonement itself, and are altogether independent of it, it is either a want of logic, or a want of fairness, to represent the penalty as an essential part of it. Sin, no doubt, is a gloomy thing, and very fearful is the penalty connected with it ; just as is the prevalence of disease and its consequent suffering. But it would be deemed a great injustice, or a great absurdity, to charge the physical disease

and suffering upon the physical remedy that had been devised for their removal. It is no less unjust or absurd to object to the atonement doctrine, as if it originated the evil, and proclaimed the penalty, from which it brings effectual deliverance.

If, then, eternal punishment be a fact,—and we certainly are not among those who doubt it,—it is a fact in the moral government of God, and not a central fact in the theory of the atonement. The objection, therefore, if reasonable ground there be for an objection, turns against the divine government. Here the mind is thrown upon the most insoluble of all mysteries,—the existence of moral evil. It is in the train of it that the punishment has come, and without it the punishment would have had no existence. Both are facts lying in the world without, acknowledged and met by Christianity, but forming no part of it. And when man stumbles on the fact of the existence of moral evil, it becomes him to recognise human ignorance as in itself the one true knowledge, and to manifest, what has been considered its first-fruit, humility. But, leaving this undeniable, though mysterious, fact, man is conscious of the guilt involved in his personal transgression, and his reason assents to the justice of the consequent penalty. Our opponents appeal not to men's reason, but to their passions and prejudices, when they speak (in not very refined terms) of "the warnings of woe,—the superadded punishment of the sinner,—the wrath to come,"—denounced in the New Testament against transgressors. We have always one simple question at hand to turn aside the appeal. Is there not a punishment superadded to the sinner here? Does not wrath come as the consequence of wickedness now? There is no fact in God's moral administration more palpable than the established connexion between sin and suffering. If the New Testament makes men sad because it recognises this connexion, and utters its warnings on the ground of it; the world should throw a shadow, not less dark and gloomy, over their path, because the connexion which the Scripture recognises is there actually existing. In the constitution of nature, there is enough of light and benignity to lead every rightly constituted mind to say, with Paley, notwithstanding the sin and misery that prevail, "It is a happy world after all." And in the constitution of the Gospel,—in its illustrious manifestation of divine love to the world,—in its "glad tidings of great joy,"—the elements of happiness so superabound, that if the New Testament leaves any of its readers "sad" and "powerless," it can only be accounted for on the principle of men's loving darkness rather than light.

Our Secularists know well, that the most effectual way to excite men's abhorrence, is to give a horrible description of what they themselves hate. The scriptural doctrine of future punishments is grossly caricatured by Secularism; and certainly, as misrepresented by the Secularist apostle, it is "coarse damnation."

The rude antagonists of Scripture generally make fearful havoc of its figurative representations. One simple rule of exegesis guides their feet in this field. The figurative representations are to be understood literally, and the literal representations are to be understood figuratively, when, by so doing, Christianity can be damaged; a rule acted on in common life by some persons who wish to do evil to their neighbour, and to take up a reproach against their neighbour. The most terrible and impressive figures employed by Scripture, when treating of this subject, are the undying worm and the unquenchable fire. No enlightened and candid reader of the New Testament believes that these physical terms are descriptive of physical suffering merely, but that they are rather used to denote moral punishment; consisting in the disapprobation of God made sensible to the soul or conscience of the sinner, even more than to the body. If these and similar terms have been dwelt upon by some Preachers in such a way as to convey the idea that they are to be strictly limited to a simply literal interpretation, with such representations we have no sympathy, and for them Christianity is not responsible. Men who are disturbed by a sense of unpardoned guilt, can readily explain to themselves what is *particularly* meant by "the worm" and "the fire." There is something in every man's bosom which proclaims, that God hates sin, and will punish it, as well as that he loves righteousness, and will reward it. Let men object as they will, it remains true, that in the inmost recesses of the soul troubled with conscious guilt, there is "a certain fearful looking for of judgment," that confirms the truth of this doctrine, which, though not an essential part of the atonement, is implied in it.

As to the duration of future punishment, this, as Mr. Hinton, in one of his well-timed and valuable Secular tracts, has remarked, is a thing not to be determined by itself, but as rising out of that permanent state to which punishment and reward alike belong. In so far as the exegesis of Scripture is concerned, the endless punishment of the wicked seems to us to be as clearly asserted as the endless happiness of the righteous. It is not, as is alleged, a doctrine peculiar to the New Testament. We find it embodied in the mythology of the Greeks and Romans. God has made men's habitual conduct now, to be productive of permanent results hereafter. This is an established principle in his moral government, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." The beginnings of the operation of this principle are experienced here. Men who live in the habitual commission of known sin, and in the habitual neglect of known duty, suffer the consequences all their lives long. The present state comes to an end, the future state does not. It is only in accordance with the principle of permanent results proceeding from temporary conduct, that moral retribution for moral offences is eternal. The objection, then, is not only shifted from the atonement to the

doctrine which, though implied in it, exists independently of it; but it is thrown farther back still, and rests on the principle of the divine government alluded to. There we leave our Secularist to deal with it.

A thrice-slain fallacy supports all the objections urged by sceptics against the atonement doctrine, and the implied doctrine of future punishment. We have an endless iteration of the assumption, that the paternal character must exhibit the entire aspect of God towards men. Some persons make up in boldness what they lack in argument. Let them be driven from their position ever so often by the missiles of logic, they will return again, and set all argument at defiance. The appeal is made, not to men's reason, but to their passions, not to men's judgment, but to their feelings, when it is asked if human parents would make such exactions of their children, and inflict such punishments upon them, as God is said to do in reference to his erring children. It is altogether a one-sided view of the divine character; and, consequently, very much in the world before us conflicts with it. The procedure of the God of nature, as well as the procedure of the God of revelation, is inexplicable on the assumption, that the paternal aspect is comprehensive of the whole character of God. The assumption cannot, for a moment, stand the test of facts. We challenge any man to account, on the faith of this theory, for the moral condition of the race as now existing,—its failures in respect to intelligence, its defection from virtue, and its consequent state of unhappiness and restlessness; or to explain how special visitations, in the form of pestilence and war, of earthquake, famine, and flood, have come upon men and nations. If there be abundance of natural phenomena to make it manifest that we all have "one Father," who daily loadeth us with his benefits, there is abundance also to convince us "that there is a God who judgeth in the earth." It would not be a greater fallacy to assume that the regal character is comprehensive of the entire aspect of God towards men, and, on the ground of one class of phenomena, to argue against the manifestations of the benignant Parent; than it is to assume that the parental embraces the entire aspect, and thus come into collision with another class of phenomena. We acknowledge that the atonement is indefensible on the supposition that God is only a Father to mankind; but it is not more so than the constitution and government of the world. As moral Governor, God superintends the concerns of the universe, gives forth laws, which, like himself, are holy, just, and good, for the obedience of his intelligent creatures, and enforces them by powerful sanctions. To this system of moral government belong the atonement and the doctrine of future punishments. They could have had no place on the supposition that God was only a Father, any more than could the moral and physical evils and sufferings which prevail

in the world. In the atonement itself, the two aspects of the divine character are harmoniously manifested. It is a bright exhibition of the just God and the Saviour. The adversaries of the doctrine are as dishonest in representing it as entirely a display of vindictiveness on the part of the moral Governor, as they are fallacious in assuming that it should have been only a display of kindness on the part of the Father. The glories of the parental and the judicial aspects are here illustriously manifested. God is seen as the defender of moral right, upholding the law in all the integrity of its claims, and demanding full satisfaction for its injured honours; while, through this channel of moral mediation, he comes forth, in all the benignity of a parent, and bestows the richest blessings on his returning children. The atonement has not, as infidels with a bold impudence are ever alleging, made God merciful to the human race; but it is his own appointed way of manifesting his love to man, consistent with the holiness of his character, and the honour of his law. It solves the otherwise insoluble difficulty, how God can be just, and yet the justifier of the ungodly. It upholds the cause of moral right, and manifests the divine displeasure against sin; while it shows God pitying us, "as a father pitieth his children."

We had thought the coarse blasphemy and vulgar impudence of the days of Paine had been passed; but in Secularism, as now advocated, we have a revival of them. The author of the "Age of Reason" never uttered coarser and more offensive things regarding the punitive dispensations of Providence, than does the editor of "The Reasoner." Wilfully overlooking the obvious distinction between a sovereign Ruler and a private individual, he argues, as absurdly as impiously, that God in punishing transgressors violates his own rule of forgiving those who trespass against us. The Creator and the creature, the moral Governor and the subjects of moral government, are placed upon the same level; man's claims and God's claims are assumed to be equal; and he has the "moral audacity" to say, that, if the Supreme Being would not be less honourable and merciful than his frail creatures are required to be, He cannot pronounce upon them a condemning sentence; and he has the still greater moral audacity to defend his statement as "a logical and legitimate application" of the maxim of not doing to others what we would not wish done to ourselves. "Logical and legitimate application!" It is a piece of raving impiety of the worst sort. We tell our Secularist philosopher, that he durst not openly utter such a sentiment in reference to his own earthly Monarch. Society would resent the insult; and the majesty of violated law would take knowledge of the offender. The most merciful Magistrate on earth is doing almost every day what it is necessary for the welfare of society he should do, but what no private individual can or ought to do. Conceive of our Secularist going up to the

Chief Justice of England, when he was about to pronounce a severe but legal sentence on a great criminal, and thinking to arrest the arm of justice by his "logical and legitimate application" of the golden rule! The Magistrate, if he deigned to notice the logic of folly, would say, "I act not in a private but in a public capacity, as the guardian of the law and the rights of society: that law and these rights have been violated in the person of this criminal; and the well-being of the state demands that he suffer the punishment." Were the governments of this world conducted on the same silky sentimental principle as some would have the moral government of God conducted, what a pretty lawless world should we have! Every man, as once happened when there was no King in Israel, might do what was right in his own eyes. Our Judges, if we had any, would only be sorry for the criminals, clap them on the back, and tell them to behave better in future,—which is just what they would wish to have done to themselves, were they placed in similar circumstances. We wonder how any of our intelligent workingmen, however great their indifference or enmity to Christianity, should suffer their strong common-sense to be overborne by such dead logic as is ever and anon addressed to them by the author of "The Logic of Death."

Another point here, in which a wretched logic and a gross impiety meet, is the maintaining that God must be the most miserable of beings, because the atonement, and other doctrines of Scripture, represent him as being angry at sin, and, in the manifestation of his displeasure, punishing the transgressors. All the punishment inflicted by law on law-breakers in our country may be said to be manifestations of the Monarch's displeasure; does it then follow that the Monarch is miserable? It is true that the head that wears a crown is often not the one that lies easiest; but the uneasiness, we imagine, does not arise from the righteous administration of law. Besides, the objection goes on the grossly false assumption, that language borrowed from men, descriptive of God's moral disapprobation at sin, must be taken exactly in the same sense in which it is applicable to man himself,—a rule of interpretation that would have justified the ancient Heathen in changing "the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man." Our Secularists are unhappy when they are angry at transgressors, and their inference is, that God must be also. There is, and, from the very perfection of his nature, must be, in God, moral disapprobation at sin; but that disapprobation is manifested in perfect harmony with his character, as "blessed for ever." It is from a low, anthropomorphizing view of the Creator that such an objection is urged. The man who urges it thinks God to be such an one as himself, and associates with his conceptions of the Blessed and Only Potentate his own infirmities and imperfections. Had the

Bible contained no expressions declarative of God's displeasure at sin, what a charge in the mouth of Secularists would this have been against the Book ! A God without any manifestation of moral disapprobation at moral wrong, or without any judicial administration regarding it, is not, and cannot be, the moral Governor of the universe. Disapprobation in Him is not identical with resentment among men ; were it so, there could have been no such display of mercy as is made in the atonement.

But the secret of all this hostility to the Gospel doctrines lies in the fact, that man is he'd *responsible for his belief*. Our Secularists would wish to wander at their own sweet will, and to be saved in their own way. When the Naaman of Secularism comes to the Gospel, and finds that it has but one sovereign exclusive prescription, he gets wroth, and goes away, and says, "Behold, I thought," &c. "Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?" It is the uncompromising nature, or, as some would say, the intolerance, of the Gospel, that excites in some men enmity towards it. Why only one way of salvation, and the denunciation of endless destruction to all who refuse to follow it? "This is the immorality," says our Secularist, (as if he were clinching the nail,) "against which we protest." Now, we think he might, with perfect consistency, go farther than this, and say, "Why only one object of supreme worship?—why only one code of moral laws?—and why are penalties attached to idolatry and to disobedience to these laws? It is against this immorality that we protest!" And if we are to have more than one way of salvation, why not a thousand ways? or rather, why not leave every man to follow a way of his own? Then, if this be the model of Heaven's government, let it be copied by all the governments and communities of earth. Imagine our Secularist going up to the College of Physicians, and lodging his protest of immorality against the one exclusive way of curing this and the other disease. Follow him to the courts of law, and, ultimately, to the foot of the throne, and hear him indignantly lifting up his voice against the immorality of their exclusive enactments,—their modes of redressing grievances and affording protection. Then look at him standing up before high Heaven, and lifting up his protest against the immorality of the one way of salvation ! A man acting thus before the world would be regarded as under a strange hallucination, and be pitied for the aberration of his intellect. The aberration in the case before us is more moral than intellectual ; and so is the illusion. Mr. Holyoake's illusion is, that *we* Christians have laid down one exclusive way of salvation ; and that, under pain of endless destruction, *we* require everybody to believe it. And then he turns boldly round, and says,—a thing which, it seems, Mr. Grant unpardonably overlooked,—“If I require faith in my system, I do not propose to

damn those who do not concede it." We would say, "Stop, friend, stop! The Gospel way of salvation is not our system, but God's own system; and, instead of proposing to inflict any penalty on unbelievers, we simply declare what is God's revealed will in the matter." We will concede to our anti-Christian apostle, who obviously has not overmuch of the clothing of humility, the right to legislate for those who have elected him to the government of the diocese of Secularism; and, perhaps, we might hint that he can only recommend faith in his system, it being idle presumption to talk of his demanding it, and not proposing to visit men with penal inflictions for refusing it. But we will not concede to him the right of placing the Secularist throne by the side of the throne of Heaven, and of exalting his little *I* to an equal supremacy with Him who has created and commands all things. Our Secularist expounder has here forgotten his own rule of "discretionary silence," and overleaped the restraints which he himself had imposed upon atheistic folly.

The Bible not only clearly reveals the hidden springs of unbelief, tracing the absolute rejection of its truths, or their feeble influence on the lives of those that profess to receive them, to a rooted aversion of heart, a stupid insensibility to its high and holy doctrines, its strict and uncompromising requirements,—but the Bible, with a majesty and firmness befitting its origin, pronounces the unbeliever a heinous criminal in the sight of Heaven. There is nothing strange or unreasonable in this, on the supposition that the Bible is a revelation of the mind and will of God, for the obedience of men, His rational and intelligent creatures. The Creator of the universe has a right to be its supreme lawgiver. He that made man must, in the very nature of things, claim the homage of his heart and the obedience of his life. If the Bible be a law, it must, like all other laws, have its sanctions. The Ruler of the universe were less mindful of His authority than the Prince of some petty province were of his, did He suffer His laws to be trampled on with impunity, or His invitations to be rejected and despised. But the Bible is not merely a law: it contains the only means of mercy for a lost world. It exhibits a scheme of redemption every way suited to the wants of man, as a guilty, depraved, helpless creature. It makes known a free and full salvation, of which every one may participate who believes the record which God has given concerning his Son, and who rests his hopes on the atoning death of the Saviour. This is just the Gospel,—the good tidings of great joy which are to all people. Now this Gospel finds man in a state of condemnation, lying under the sentence of that just and good law which he has dishonoured; and, in coming to man, it offers to change his state and to renew his character,—to transfer him from the state of the condemned to the state of the justified, and, by the influence of its truths on his mind, to render him meet for both worlds. This is the end of divine revelation; and the means

towards its accomplishment is, believing. No man capable of understanding the Gospel, and living within the reach of its joyful sound, has a right to expect the benefits of its deliverance without a firm faith in its great truths, and an humble submission to its dictates. It is to as many as receive Him that the Saviour gives power to become the sons of God. It is faith, the end of which is the salvation of the soul. Here, then, is the difference between faith and unbelief, when viewed in reference to the Gospel revelation. The former justifies; the latter condemns. The Bible tells man what his own conscience tells him,—that he is a sinner. The Bible tells him, what no other book tells him, that Jesus Christ is the only, the all-sufficient, the Divine Saviour; and it assures him that, on the ground of the great atonement, the moral Governor of the universe is able and willing to blot out his transgressions, to deliver him from the condemning sentence of the just law, to make him eternally holy and happy. Now, when a man heartily and practically believes these declarations, there is for him no longer any condemnation. The law, which aforesaid condemned him, can do so no longer, because its demands have been fully satisfied in the person of Christ, his Surety. He has, by faith, become united to Him; and, by virtue of this spiritual union, his life is secure,—in the profound language of the New Testament, it is “hid with Christ in God.” But if, on the contrary, a man exercise no faith at all in this revelation of mercy, it is evident that he can receive from it no benefit. If he were under condemnation before the Gospel sounded in his ears, he must be under condemnation still. So that unbelief involves, in its very nature, present condemnation; for, as faith in the Gospel is just an act of the sinner laying hold of God’s method of deliverance, so disbelief, or a rejection of the Gospel, keeps him in subjection to the common sentence; while, in his case, there is a superadded guilt, and, consequently, a superadded punishment, in the very rejection of the Gospel itself. The turning-point of a man’s salvation is thus made, in accordance with the philosophy of man’s nature, as well as with the philosophy of heaven, to depend on a man’s belief or faith.

It is a naked fallacy, running broadly through Secularism, and all other anti-Christian *isms*, that we have no control over our belief. Let this be proven, and the requirements of the Gospel may be set at defiance, and the threatened penalty for non-compliance may be derided. Let the fallacy of this be proven, and infidelity is driven from its refuges. And there is no fallacy we deem more palpable. Man’s responsibility for his belief is not a truth arrived at by processes of reasoning, nor does it rest simply on scriptural assertion; it is a matter of consciousness,—a fundamental fact in our moral constitution. We hold men responsible for the formation of opinions under the influence of which they shape their conduct in secular matters; and why should it be otherwise in religious matters? No judge on the bench

would, for a moment, listen to the plea of a sane-minded man, that he could not help the belief which led him to a course of criminal conduct. And no such plea will serve the unbeliever, either in the court of conscience, or at that higher tribunal to which it points,—the judgment-seat of heaven. Christianity comes before men accompanied with a large amount of moral evidence; it demands no blind obedience,—no unwilling faith. It says, "Attend to that evidence,—look at the seals,—search the document,—examine the witnesses." This you can do,—this you must do, honestly and impartially; and for the result you are responsible. Every man is conscious that, in moral subjects especially, his belief is very much as he would have it to be. Men's feelings are continually swaying their beliefs in religious matters; and if men withhold the attention over which they have power, or if they examine the subject carelessly, or under hostile feelings,—for this, God, to whom they are amenable, will hold them responsible. It will not do to say, "Show men the right faith, and they will instinctively follow it." Secularism, in the estimation of its apostle, is the right faith, and yet comparatively few have any faith in it. The cool reception which Secularism has met with in the world is a practical refutation of this Secularist assertion. If anything were wanting to show that the cause of unbelief, on the part of our Secularists, is more ethical than intellectual, we would only appeal to the unfair representations which they give of the Gospel, and to the desperate spirit of malignity in which they speak of Christianity and its Divine Author. So long as men are led by inclination, and are not the subjects of an irresistible impulse, will it appear an evident fallacy, to say, that those who are punished for rejecting the Gospel are punished for what they cannot avoid.

We have, as yet, found no fair evidence of the truth of the Secularist proposition, that the atonement of Christ is immoral as an example. If a doctrine be immoral in its tendency, men in proportion to the strength of their faith in it should be immoral characters. This test is not to be evaded by saying, that immoral principles are often counteracted by more genial influences. Other influences may weaken a man's faith in a doctrine, and thus prevent his manifesting the real tendencies of the doctrine itself. But we speak of firm believers in the atonement doctrine. It is not like the belief in a theory about the moon, which exerts no influence on the springs of human conduct. No man can really believe in it—bearing powerfully, as it does, upon the highest human interests—without manifesting in a great degree its native influence. We challenge contradiction in asserting, that the strongest believers in the scriptural doctrine of the atonement have been among the best of men, and the greatest benefactors to the race. Our Secularist opponent would doubtless have produced evidence to the contrary, had he been able.

Where, then, lurks the immorality? The Secularist, in his last refuge, says, "Here it is! The New Testament teaches, that the wrath of God abides on the unbeliever, and, in imitation of this, the wrath of man will be laid there also." The logic here is, that since God has denounced punishment against unbelief, should men take the punishment into their hands, therefore the Bible teaches persecution! Admirable! Irrefragable! Most admirable! There is, throughout the whole of the Secularist discussion, a wretched confusion of ideas with regard to the respective positions of God and man. At one time it is impiously assumed, that God ought to do what He requires man to do; and this is paraded as a "logical and legitimate application" of the golden rule. At another time it is very fallaciously argued, that whatever God, in his capacity of moral Governor, does, man may lawfully imitate. Apply the logic to human affairs, and the absurdity is manifest. Queen Victoria, in the right administration of law, is every day inflicting deserved punishment on public offenders; but were Mr. Holyoake, as a private subject, to do this, and to plead the Monarch's example, he would find the plea unavailing. The Book of God is not to be held accountable for every thing done in its name. It was in the name of Bible religion that Pius IX. very recently presented a tooth of St. Peter to the Emperor of Austria; but *that* religion resents the imposture, and disowns the Pagan foolery. The fiercest persecutions, and the most enormous crimes perpetrated in Christian lands, have taken place under the pretended sanction of that much-dishonoured book, the New Testament. The base coin cannot pass, unless it assumes the King's image and superscription. It is a desperate shift of infidelity, to charge upon the Scriptures the persecutions practised in their name. It is true, that the moral Governor of the universe denounces punishment against the violation of his laws, and the rejection of his authority; but to every one, be he Priest or King, who would invade the Divine prerogative, and execute that punishment, He says, "Vengeance is mine, I will recompense." It must be confessed, then, that Secularism has completely failed in substantiating its charges against the Christian atonement; and we impeach it on the ground of wilfully maligning and slandering the innocent.

But we are apt to forget, like our Secularist himself, that the six nights' public discussion, of which the above is, in part, an analysis, was professedly on the question, "What advantages would accrue to mankind generally, and to the working-classes in particular, by the removal of Christianity, and the substitution of Secularism in its place?" It is amazing that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the metropolis of England, such a question should have been mooted by any man of common enlightenment. But strange things creep forth in sun-

light, as well as during darkness. An enlightened age is no hinderance, in the case of some persons, to the revival of absurdities. If the heavens were to fall, we should catch larks. If Christianity were removed, no doubt we should get Secularism. The "if" is as legitimate in the one case as in the other, and the question, as to advantages, is as reasonable. Never was a question more loudly vaunted at the outset, and more shamefully evaded in actual debate, than was the question before us, by the champion of Secularism. It stands, like a text, at the head of his discourse; but we see or hear little of it throughout the exposition. Most assuredly, it is not by laying down such unproven propositions as,—that nature is the only subject of knowledge,—that science is the providence of man, that morals are independent of the New Testament,—nor is it by maintaining the fallacy of eternal punishments being the central fact of the theory of the atonement, and grossly misrepresenting the atonement itself,—that we are to be converted to the belief, that the world would be advantaged by the removal of the Gospel of Christ, and the substitution of the Gospel of Secularism. The reader of Mr. Holyoake's part of the debate must either be in danger of losing sight of the question amid the irrelevancies into which he leads him, or he must be ever wondering when the Secularist advocate is going to enter into the bush, instead of beating about it. Mr. Grant, whose logic is very inconvenient to his opponent, not unfrequently arrests him in his wanderings by appropriately inquiring, "What has Secularism done for man? what has Secularism done for the people? or what does it propose to do?" And when thus called to a halt, and pointedly questioned, he is careful to give no small answers. Science and Secularism are, in his vocabulary, synonymous terms. The dwarf, at the touch of the magician's wand, rises up a giant. The question swells out to its "proper" shape, "What has science done for man?" And then it becomes "proper" to say, "Civilization itself gives the answer." When you are likely to be caught in a small circle, move to a larger one. When the bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it, and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it, let him slip out and take possession of a larger, even though it has rightfully another owner. The distinction between *meum* and *tuum* is often felt to be an inconvenient one, in the field of argument as well as in the field of the world. Secularism takes under its wing all the discoveries made in the heavens above and in the earth beneath. It lays its hand on astronomy and geology, on chemistry and practical mechanics, on the Davy safety-lamp and on the gasometer, on the mariner's compass and the railway,—in short, on all those "material agencies which work together for human welfare,"—and says, "These are mine." Our Secularist chief walks through the kingdom of nature, casts a glance into all the departments of science, and into all the maga-

zines of art, and, like the Babylonish Monarch walking upon the palace, exclaims, "Is not this great Secularism?" It is not befitting to particularize the great things which it has wrought. "Civilization itself" is the sum of its doings!

These are the claims of a weak but bold pretender. Ridicule is the most appropriate weapon with which to meet them. Secularism=science! As well say, Holyoake=Newton, Watt, Davy, &c., &c.! The question, then, should stand thus: "What advantages would accrue to mankind generally, and the working-classes in particular, by the removal of Christianity, and the substitution of *science* in its place?" This is a question which no man durst have propounded without being prepared to encounter a storm of derision. The Secularism that would supplant Christianity, if it could, is in direct antagonism to it. He that loves the one must hate the other. The science wherewith Secularism covers its own nakedness is not only not the opponent of Christianity, but, in the light and under the auspices of Christianity, it has grown up and increased. A corrupt Christianity has opposed science, obstructed the progress of liberty, and played the part of a demon among men. But the pure Christianity of the New Testament is no more responsible for these things, than honest men are responsible for the doings of disguised thieves. It will not do in this age of the world, and in England, where "those material agencies which work together for human welfare" are so extensively patronized by Christians, to allege that Christianity has always opposed science. No doubt Rome was jealous of the telescope, and hostile to the doctrine of the earth's motion, just as Rome now is jealous of the printing-press, and opposed to the introduction of gas and railways; but we no more think of looking to Rome for pure Christianity, than we think of going to the Tiber for pure water. Science is no more the property of Secularism than the sun and moon are; and it is just as true that Christianity is adverse to their shining, as it is that Christianity is antagonistic to science. The giant, then, must return to his naturally diminutive stature. Secularism, for honesty's sake, must relinquish its claim to the empire of science. And our philosopher, instead of counting up the beneficial discoveries of philosophers, between whom and himself there is no relationship, and running away over the fields of civilization, must keep within the walls of his own school, and submit to be asked, not, What has science, but, What has Secularism, done for man? Civilization itself does *not* give the answer. The verdict of history in reference to our own and other civilized lands is, that modern civilization—a civilization immeasurably superior to any thing deserving the name among the ancients—has come in the train and very much as the effect of Christianity. It enables man to make the best use of both worlds. Secularism interdicts all preparation for the future, and has done nothing but utter promises for the present.

So that, overlooking the question of possibility, the proper answer to the question on which all our Secularist's arguments *should* have hinged, is *nil, nil*.

But Secularism, while *promising* advantages to "mankind generally," when it shall have been substituted in the place of Christianity,—

"Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace;
Our country next, and next all human race,"—

proposes to take under its wing "the working-classes in particular." It wishes to be regarded as pre-eminently the people's system. Its appeals are made to the industrial mind. Our Secularists hang out the flag of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and summon the disaffected to its standard. Their professed practical aim is equitable legislation, and the correction of what is unjust and oppressive in the arrangements of society. Infidel principles assume a palatable form, when allied with a liberal advocacy of what are called "the people's rights." But for this, Robert Owen would never have gained for his new moral world the comparatively few disciples whom he was able to muster; and the ranks of Secularism, though far from being formidable, would be much more lean and ill-favoured. This claim of Secularism to the people's championship cannot, by any fair mode of adjudication, be conceded. We ask, What has it done for the people? And we are referred, by its great advocate, to the life of Owen for an illustration. This is more definite and recognisable than saying, "Civilization itself gives the answer." Well: what has "the brave old man," who "deserves to have a heaven to himself," done for the people? It must be something on a scale of such magnitude, and productive of such beneficial results, as would indicate the advantages which would accrue to them by "the removal of Christianity," and the "substitution of Secularism in its place." The name of Owen, some thirty years ago, figured very prominently among the wonderful would-be regenerators of our race. Some of his projects of social amelioration were looked upon with respect by Governments and Corporations, by Statesmen and royal Dukes. The substitution of the spade for the plough, and the classification of the people in parallelograms, where they were to eat, work, and discharge every function, according to uniform rules, were to involve consequences of the highest concernment to the well-being of mankind. The present "irrational" system of society was to be superseded by the "rational system," in which every one was to be "equally provided, through life, with the best of every thing." All were to be educated, "from infancy to maturity, in the best manner." All were to pass through the "same general routine of education, domestic teaching, and employment." The "family formation of character," under which children are spoiled by the "silly affection" of their parents,

and rendered unfit for the membership "of a pure democracy," was to be supplanted by "the special care of the township in which they are born." The "barbarous" system of the rod—the infliction of punishment—should be unknown, since all individuals trained under the "rational system" are confidently expected "at all times to think and act rationally." True, there would be some exceptions: there would be the "morally diseased," as well as the "physically" and "intellectually" diseased; but for all such "the mildest treatment which can effect their cure" was reserved in the "rational" hospital. Such were some of the great and good things which Owenism, the parent of Secularism, promised to accomplish for the people. Religion, of course, had no place in it. Owenism had its "discretionary silence," also; but, as we have already said, it was well known to be steeped in atheism. We remember having heard the Socialist patriarch some years ago addressing an audience in Modern Athens, when, in reply to some inconvenient questions, he admitted the existence of a "Power," but deemed it as absurd for man to address prayers to "that Power," as it would be were the meanest reptile to make genuflections to man himself. The bubble soon burst. Owenist promises remained non-fulfilled. The unfinished parallelogram at Orbiston disappeared. The society at Harmony resolved itself into its discordant elements. The "rational system" failed for the very reason why all such systems fail, namely, the existence of the present "irrational system." Owenism, like Secularism, had neither beam nor mote in its own eye. It threw its own failure on "this half-nurtured, half-trained, doubtfully-conditioned state of society." Much has been done of late years, and much is now being done, for educating, and morally and socially improving, the people; but the good has been effected under the influence of more profound and noble views of man than were developed in "The Book of the New Moral World," or embodied in the drill system of parallelograms. Owen's life has indeed been a life of "labour;" but the fruit has borne no proportion to the blossom: it has been a life of "patience" and of "love" too; for, in spite of all discouragements, he has clung fondly and perseveringly to his crotchets, and continued to indulge the dream that he has the cure for the old diseased world; but we must have some better illustration than the life of this old, good-natured visionary, before we can cease asking, what Secularism has done for the people? *

* The following testimony from New-Lanark,—once the field of hope for Owenism,—bearing date March 16th, 1853, is given in the cheap and excellent little volume containing the Thornton Lectures:—"When Robert Owen came to this village, he was drawn in his carriage by the people; but when he left it, the same individuals were ready to pelt him away. There seems to be only one opinion on the subject, which is, that Owen inflicted a very great evil on the villagers, by instilling into the minds of the children what he called the absurdity of parental restraint, the effects of which were disorder and disunion in families, numbers of illegitimate children, and many other

The men to whom we, as a nation, owe our civil and religious liberties, were far from being Secularists. It must, indeed, be admitted, that the richest forms of modern civilization, as they appear in our own country, have been very much the results of that Christian light and influence, which some among us would extinguish or nullify if they could. We maintain, on the broad basis of facts,—whatever Mr. Newman, one of Mr. Holyoake's oracles, may say to the contrary,—that Christianity is the greatest influence which has elevated womankind, extinguished domestic slavery, improved the character of our judicial code, and given rise to the manifold benevolent institutions which are the glory of the land. It was another philosophy,—it was a better faith,—than Secularism, that has made our people the richest inheritors and best guardians of freedom, and our country the home and refuge of liberty in Europe.

But, says our Secularist, casting a glance over to the Continent, "the struggling peoples of Europe are with us, and, in the hour of their danger, we are with them." Secularism comes forward as the champion of oppressed nationalities. Its shilling deeds, and loudly expressed sympathies, constitute its claim to this high distinction. Most of our readers, doubtless, will think that the foundation is too narrow for the pretension, and will be tempted, with us, to ask, What has it done for the cause of Continental freedom? Multitudes of intelligent and liberal-minded men, all whose sympathies were on the side of the oppressed, are of opinion that, but for the ungodly Secular elements that were mixed up with the people's struggles, the cause of Continental liberation would, in all likelihood, have triumphed. Atheistic Communism put back the dial of freedom many degrees. And, if ever the nations of the Continent are to possess civil and religious liberty, it must be under the leavening influences of other principles than Secularism, which would banish religion from the earth, and obliterate those social inequalities and distinctions which have as real a foundation in human society, as the hills and plains in material nature. We are very sanguine in reference to Italian freedom. The anti-Christ of Popery, and the anti-Christ of Secularist Infidelity, are its two great counter-actives. The New Testament, which both hate, will slay them both. A work is going on silently, but effectually, in Italy, which will one day manifest itself in smiting the twin demons which are ever playing into each other's hands, and keeping in thralldom the souls and bodies of men,—the demon of Popish superstition, and the demon of Atheistic Secularism. The

evils following in their train. It has been very difficult for parents to hold the reins of government: but there is a great improvement going on at present. There is not one in the village that professes to believe Owen's creed. There was one, a talented young man, who advocated Socialist principles; but, a few months since, he voluntarily came forward, and began to subscribe to the Bible Society; and he is now a constant attendant at the worship of the Independents, in the Hall of Science built by Robert Owen."

Papacy knows full well that, in proportion as the pure Word of God attains to a dominion over the Italian mind, does its own despotic dominion totter. Secularism, too, knows, that the Bible, which adapts itself to man as a spiritual, immortal, and fallen being, is an invincible barrier in the way of establishing a system which ignores God and immortality, cuts the link which connects earth with heaven, and the present with the future.

Attempts are accordingly made, by our Secularist apostle, to prejudice the working-classes against the Bible, by representing it as the enemy of all social and political reform; just as the Papacy interdicts it to the common people, on the alleged ground, that their unrestricted use of it would peril their salvation. Certainly, the one representation is as correct as the other,—the one ground is as tenable as the other. This, however, is a common mode of appeal from the Secularist chair. "Why I do not use the Bible as a book of advocacy," says Mr. Holyoake, "is, that I find in it so much that may be honestly quoted against all social and political reform, and that passages might often come up which would confound me." We have a strong persuasion that *his* ideas of social and political reform are not exactly such as it would be desirable to see realized among the nations; and we agree with him in thinking that, in his advocacy of these views, there are passages in the Bible which would come up and confound him. But when we are told, in unqualified terms, that "the Bible is the ruin of progress," and that it "may be honestly quoted against *all* social and political reform," we ask, Where are the "passages," and what is the actual evidence? Know ye not, says our Secularist, that the New Testament is the "argumentative stronghold" of American slaveholders; that the serfs of Russia are taught from it to make no effort for temporal freedom; that the Catholic is as strong in its pages as the Protestant, and the tyrant as strong as the patriot? If this be so, how comes it that slaveholders are so jealous of the Bible and the Missionary? that the Russian Clergy suffer it to speak to the serfs, only as it is distilled through the "Wilna Catechism?" that the Catholic Church cannot trust it, without note or comment, to the people, in the vernacular idiom? and that tyrants have found their most formidable opponents in a Bible-enlightened people? It would not surprise us to hear, some day, that Secularism had found footing in its pages. We assure Mr. Holyoake, that the very same principles of interpretation which enable civil and ecclesiastical oppressors to quote from it to the ruin of all progress, would enable him to employ it in his peculiar advocacy. The Book has attained to such a position in the world, and is clothed with such majesty and authority, that it is deemed right, at the sacrifice of a little candour, to extract something from it in favour of any or of every system. In this way we would undertake to prove that the New Testament is as much the "argumentative stronghold"

of Secularists, as it is of slaveholders. Only part off passage from passage,—heed not the connexion in which they stand, nor the design for which they are given,—and the thing is done. The New-Testament writers, for example, suggest, on the one hand, such considerations, and lay down such principles, as would lead masters to emancipate their slaves, and thus ultimately to abolish the evil system; while, on the other hand, lest Christianity should have been made an element of social disorganization, they teach the bondmen, so long as the relation remains, to be gentle and obedient. The Bible is thus, indeed, though in a sense different from Mr. Holyoake's meaning, "a double book." It says, "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal," as well as, "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters." Wilna Catechisms, and slavery-defenders, and some other folks who would not like to be named with them, make it a single book. It is because "the poor negro" can cry "for deliverance in its language," and, in its name, demand that his master should give unto him "that which is just and equal," that the master with the lash tears it asunder. It was very much the influence of this "double book" that elevated the serfs of our own soil to the position of freemen; and that, in more recent times, abolished in our colonies the slave-trade and slavery. Like some of the great, but silent, elevating processes of nature, this book goes on, age after age, and year after year, gradually lifting up and bettering the masses of society among whom it comes. It will smite, with the breath of its mouth, American slavery, civil and ecclesiastical despotism in the Continental nations, just as it has smitten similar evils among ourselves. To its light and influence, allied with and fostering all that is true in science and art, in literature and legislation, we look for a true progress to the working-classes of our own and other lands.

But "the Bible," after all, "*is* the ruin of progress." "It has not," as Mr. Hinton remarks, "prevented the progress of science and the arts,—the invention of printing, of the telescope, of the steam-engine, of the photograph. The Bible is placing no sensible obstruction in the way of the gigantic steps which art and science are either taking or projecting at the present moment. The Bible is not impeding beneficial legislation." But "the grand scheme of Secularism is 'to effect the equalization of human condition in this world;' or, which is the same thing, to get up a crusade against property, to abolish all private rights, and to deny to every man a title to call any thing his own. Thus is Mr. Holyoake re-producing, but more stealthily, the pernicious doctrine of his friend and former associate, Mr. Owen, that the institution of property is one of the great plagues of human society; and we have before us only an old acquaintance in a new cloak, or decrepit Socialism dressed in swaddling-clothes and freshly christened Secularism. To progress thus understood, I admit that the Bible is an obstructive power; and I

thankfully take its patron's testimony, that the Bible will be the 'ruin' of it. Little way will be made in such a scheme, while men pay respect to the precept, 'Thou shalt not steal.'"

Of the utility of the public discussion which has passed under our review, different opinions will be entertained by different minds. Some good persons have an aversion to such debates; not from any fear of the might and mastery of Infidelity, but lest greater currency should be given to pernicious errors. In this feeling we do not participate.* Secularism is a monster that lives and is propagated in dusky alleys and lanes;—bring it forth to open day, and it sickens and expires. We augur much good from the public exposure to which it has recently been subjected. Too long has it been suffered to run riot in certain quarters, without being called publicly to account. It has gone among the working-classes, loud in its sympathies and liberal in its professions, and has thus procured a hearing for its irreligious discourse. We trust that such classes are becoming more and more generally convinced, that they can find elsewhere all the sympathy and liberality worth having, and much more to ameliorate their condition, without any of the ungodly mixture. The recent debate will have contributed something to this end. It had a special reference to them. Christian men of distinguished talents and public spirit manifested their interest in the working-classes by their presence. Secularism was fairly weighed in the balance and found wanting. No intelligent artisan, open to conviction, could have followed that debate, or can have since perused it in its printed form, without coming to the conclusion, that mankind generally, and the working-classes in particular, would have every thing to lose by the substitution of Secularism in the place of Christianity. Not the least valuable part of the discussion was the exposition given of Secularism by the Secularist advocate himself. That exposition is enough to secure its condemnation. Mr. Holyoake, we are persuaded, did justice to the system. Secularists have no reason to complain of their champion. If he was weak in argument, it was because his argumentative hold was not strong. If he laid down large and well-rounded propositions which dwindled down into nothing, it was because of the difficulty of maintaining, that profession is principle,—that blossom is fruit. A man may be blamed for

* On many accounts, however, we decidedly prefer the lecture system to that of platform discussions. Men come to the latter very much as they go to the hustings on the days of a contested election. Strong party feeling is manifested, appeals to party prejudices are made, and a party triumph is likely to be the great end sought after. Something of this, it is true, may attend a course of lectures, but by no means to the same extent. Men's passions are roused around the arena of the platform; men's judgments are more called into exercise in the lecture-room. There is a stronger temptation to indulge in personalities and irrelevancies in the one case than in the other. An individual, as remarkable for fluency of tongue as weakness of argument, may ask, "Why do the Clergy avoid discussion, and the philosophers discountenance it?" The answer to be given on behalf of the Clergy and the philosophers is *not*, that they dread Secularist logic.

adopting a bad cause; but he is not to be blamed because he cannot make it good. Mr. Grant is, unquestionably, a man of much more logical acuteness than his opponent; but he triumphed because Christianity's place of defence is, the "munitions of rocks;" whereas Secularism has no better footing than the shifting sand.

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- ART. VIII.—1. *Public Education, as affected by the Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council, from 1846 to 1852: with Suggestions as to Future Policy.* By SIR JAMES KAY SHUTTLEWORTH, Bart. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1853.
2. *The Educational Institutions of the United States: their Character and Organization.* Translated from the Swedish of P. A. SILJESTRÖM, M.A., by FREDERICA ROWAN. London: John Chapman. 1853.
3. *The School in its Relations to the State, the Church, and the Congregation: being an Explanation of the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, in August and December, 1846.* London: John Murray.
4. *Strictures on the New Government Measure of Education.* By EDWARD BAINES. London: John Snow. 1853.
5. *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1852–53.*

IN one of his shorter Dialogues, Plato introduces Socrates as discoursing with two friends, who had applied to him for direction, as to the proper course to be pursued in the education of their children. The request itself may be held to have been sufficiently indicative of the earnestness of their desire for information. But, by an artifice very commonly employed in the commencement of these Dialogues, Socrates is represented as endeavouring to sharpen that desire by certain preliminary questions and remarks, tending to enhance their interest in the important subject to which their inquiry was directed. Amongst other pertinent and pithy things, he says to them, "Suppose you that you are now running a risk about a small affair, and not rather about that which is the greatest of all things belonging to you? For, assuredly, whether the sons of each of you shall turn out to be good or otherwise, so the entire family will fare, according as the character of your sons may be."*

To the mind of a Greek, the transition, by analogy, from the family to the city (or the state) was natural and easy; the πόλις

* Ἡ περὶ μικροῦ οἴεσθε νυνὶ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ τούτου τοῦ κτήματος ὃ τῶν θυμετέρων μέγιστον ἐν τυγχάνει; υἱέων γάρ που ἡ χρηστῶν ἢ τὰναντία γενομένων, καὶ ὡς ὁ οἶκος οὕτως οἰκῆσεται, ὅποιοι ἂν τινες οἱ παῖδες γένωνται.—Platon. *Laches*, sect. 10.

being, in his estimation, simply an *οἶκος* on an extended scale. So strong, indeed, was the analogy, supposed or rather *felt* to exist, between the one and the other, that, by an almost necessary consequence, it impressed itself, to an extent which is remarkable, on many of the forms of their established phraseology. And so a considerable number of words, which in the first instance were strictly appropriate to family affairs, were early adopted and permanently retained, as being equally applicable to civil relations and affairs of state.*

It was evidently on the assumption of this general analogy, that the common interests and reciprocal duties, naturally growing out of the relationship subsisting between the head of a family and its members, came to be regarded as having their parallels in the common interests and correlative obligations, which cemented and bound together the *πολιτεία*, (or "republic,") and the *πολῖται*, (or "citizens,") of whom it was composed. And as, for the purpose of his own welfare and that of his whole family, it was alike the interest and the duty of the parent to make adequate provision for the proper education of his children, so it was supposed to be the duty of the ruling powers in the republic to concern themselves upon the subject of the due instruction and training of its youthful subjects.

The analogy suggested by the aphorism of Plato, above quoted, was fully carried out by his bolder disciple of Stagira, who, in express terms, expanded the application of that aphorism from the *family* to the State. "Since," says he, "every family is a part of a State, and these (the father, the wife, and the children) are parts of a family, and the excellency of the part should be subservient to the excellency of the whole, it is necessary to instruct both the children and the women, with a view to the advantage of the State; if, indeed, it be of any consequence, as bearing on the State's being good, that the children, also, and the women should be good; as in reality it must be."† And in conformity with this expansion of the original analogy, he says again, "No one can question but that it is the special duty of the *νομοθέτης* (or 'legislator') to concern himself about the education of young persons, inasmuch as the States, in which this is not done, must of necessity suffer."‡ He also contends, that "the instruction and training given to young persons should be *κοινήν*, ('public' or 'common,') as well as *ἑνα*, (or 'one,')" and not private, or varied, according to the will or humour of the parents. And he expresses his high com-

* See *οἶκος* and its derivatives in any Greek Lexicon.

† Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἰκία μὲν πᾶσα μέρος πόλεως, ταῦτα δ' οἰκίας· τὴν δὲ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου δεῖ βλέπειν ἀρετὴν, ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν βλέποντας, παιδεύειν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας· εἴπερ τι διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι σπουδαίαν, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι σπουδαίους, καὶ γυναῖκας σπουδαίας· ἀναγκαῖον δὲ διαφέρειν.—*Arist., Polit.*, lib. i., cap. 8.

‡ *Ibid.*, lib. viii., cap. 1.

commendation of the Spartans for their adherence to the former method, implying at the same time his strong disapproval of the practice of the Athenians, who had adopted the latter.*

With reference to the analogy on which Aristotle is thus shown to have constructed his theory of Public Education, we are disposed to admit, and even to maintain, that the principle which it involves is good,—far too good, to be classed amongst the things which ought never to have been thought of, and should now be forgotten; though, be it noted, we should be loth to follow either Aristotle, or any of his modern imitators in the art of framing republics, in their sweeping and wholesale application of it. The legislator, if he be a true patriot and a wise man, will not deem it unworthy either of his position or his character, that he should act on this analogy, so far as it may be possible for him to do so, consistently with the respect he owes to other and, it may be, higher claims and obligations. Nor will it be a recompense of small account, if, as the result of his pursuing such a course, the inscription, "*pater patriæ*," should grace the marble or the bronze, which shall transmit his image and his name to future generations. But, few analogies are perfect. They require, therefore, to be very nicely watched and handled, or, instead of giving us assistance, as illustrations of the truth, they will betray us into error and absurdity. So, in the particular case in question, a general analogy, of admirable use in skilful hands and within proper bounds, has been strained by certain philosophers and legislators beyond the limits to which it can reasonably be permitted to extend, and so has been made the pretext of a system in which the correspondence between the original idea of a wise and generous state-paternity, and the paternity of private life, ceases to be recognised. We repeat it, the analogy itself is good. But theorists, too eagerly intent upon their object, to see the slipperiness of the ground beneath their feet, and overlooking, in their haste to arrive at their conclusion, the real meaning of the premises by which they sought to reach it,—have turned the analogy, which was assumed as the basis of their reasoning, into a pure absurdity. The Procrustean scheme of Public Education, which they have left as one of the results of their philosophy, in the very circumstance of its over-riding and ignoring *altogether* the earlier and more sacred responsibilities and rights inherent in the *true* parental relationship, renders the *state-paternity*, on the assumption of which it is established, an affinity to be repudiated and abjured rather than accepted. And so, except in countries governed by an arbitrary tyranny, it is, in fact, utterly impracticable.

The truth, as to the right and duty of a Government to interfere in the education of the people, is generally to be found just

* *Arist., Polit.*, lib. viii., cap. 1.

where the eminent philosopher last-mentioned was wont to teach that all the virtues may be found; that is, in something like a *mean* between two widely separated and contradictory extremes,—namely, that of over-meddling, and that of not meddling at all. In other words, the two extremes are,—that of leaving the education of children, in all cases, solely to the discretion and ability of their parents,—and that of taking it out of the hands of the parents altogether. The Spartan practice was a remarkable instance of the last-mentioned of these two extremes; and the theories of those who would repudiate, under all and any circumstances, any assistance from the State, are examples of the former. And, keeping in view the ethical theory of the Stagirite, the *juste milieu* will approximate to the one, or to the other, of these two extremes, as a *variable* point, according to the varying character and circumstances of the people and the government, in the countries where general education, as an affair of national interest, requires to be promoted.

All this, by way of introduction, and for the purpose of reminding some, who would appear to have forgotten, that national education, under national auspices, and at the national expense, is not to be reckoned amongst the *discoveries* of this inventive and improving age, as would appear to be implied in certain popular writings and public addresses on the subject. It is, in fact, simply the resurgence of an old, but, until lately, somewhat neglected, principle of political economy, the history of which might almost take rank with that of a “Forgotten Fact in Optics,” detected some years ago, by an old friend of ours,* in the “*Noctes Atticæ*” of Aulus Gellius. Other points of coincidence, in this matter, between the ancients and the moderns, may suggest themselves as we proceed.

Whatever diversities of opinion may have prevailed, as to the right or duty of the State to interfere, authoritatively or otherwise, in the education of the people, the fact has been, that comparatively little interference from that quarter was practised in ancient days, or even subsequently to the Christian era, until some time after the Reformation from Popery. According to Dr. Schmitz,† the first effort towards a *public* system of education at Rome “was made A.D. 99, by the Emperor Trajan, who, in that year, made a foundation, upon which free-born, but poor, boys and girls were to be educated.” And of Antoninus Pius it is said, with an emphasis which indicates that the practice had not been common with his predecessors, that “during his reign the interests of education and literature were promoted in all parts of the empire by the honours and distinctions conferred upon rhetoricians and philosophers, who were appointed every-

* The late W. G. Horner, Esq., of Bath :

“*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis?*” —

† “History of Rome,” p. 614.

where, without any reference to sect or school, and received annual salaries of 600 sesterces." * We need the less to wonder that there should be so little evidence of public education, either in imperial Rome, or its dependencies, as we are informed by Suetonius, that the Romans thought the education of their children a business properly belonging to the parents themselves. And Plutarch, in the "Life of Marcus Cato," tells us, that as soon as his son was capable of learning, Cato would suffer nobody to teach him but himself, although he had a servant, named Chilo, who was an excellent grammarian, and who taught a great many other youths.†

For ages afterwards we look in vain for any traces of what might properly be called National or Public Education in the Roman Empire or elsewhere. It seems to have lain buried, or very nearly so, for a period, the long duration of which had well-nigh caused it to be utterly forgotten, or remembered only as something belonging to the antiquated records of a semi-barbarous age. But at length, under the genial influence of a reviving Christianity, it re-appeared in Scotland, like the fair snowdrop, which marks the opening change of winter into spring,—the omen and pledge of brighter suns and a less chilly atmosphere. As having been probably the first in modern times to re-assert, and carry into practice, the claim and obligation of the civil power—upon the occurrence of a clear emergency and under certain conditions—to concern itself and to take vigorous action in regard to the education of the people, Scotland has achieved a distinction which should be ever gratefully remembered and acknowledged. Lord Brougham speaks of having "seen a charter of King David of Scotland, granted in 1241, in which mention is made of public schools in Roxburgh; another, dated 1163, which speaks of the schools of Stirling; another, which, in 1244, notices the number of schools at Ayr; and a fourth, dated 1256, which makes honourable mention of the manner in which the schools of other districts were conducted."‡ The commencement thus made by the State in Scotland in the thirteenth century, was afterwards, with the energy and perseverance which have ever characterized the inhabitants of that country, vigorously carried out by the Kirk of Scotland, and also by the Government. It was enacted by the Government, in 1494, that all Barons and substantial freeholders should send their children to school from the age of six to nine years, and then to other seminaries. In 1615, an Act of the Privy Council of Scotland empowered the Bishops, along with the majority of the landlords, or heritors, to establish a school in every parish of their respective dioceses, and to assess the lands for that purpose.

* Schmitz, "History of Rome," p. 624.

† "Spectator," No. 313.

‡ Speech of Mr. Brougham in the House of Commons, June 29th, 1820, on the occasion of his moving for leave to bring in a Bill for the Education of the Poor in England and Wales.

And this Act of the Privy Council was confirmed by an Act of the Scotch Parliament, in 1683. In 1561 the Book of Discipline, adopted at that date by the General Assembly, declared it to be imperatively necessary that there should be a school in every parish, for the instruction of the youth in the principles of religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue. It was even suggested that parents should not be permitted to neglect the education of their children, but that the nobility and gentry should be obliged to do so at their own expense; and that a fund should be provided for the education of the children of the poor who discovered talents or aptitude for learning. In 1688, this benevolent provision was not only re-established, but still further extended. And finally, in 1696, an act of (the Scotch) Parliament was passed respecting schools, realizing the great object which had been long and earnestly sought by the Presbyterian Church, and by no other Church in Christendom,—a school in every parish throughout the whole kingdom, so far supported by the public funds as to render education accessible to even the poorest in the community.

Amongst the continental nations, and in England, the re-awakening of an earnest disposition to promote, by special provision for that purpose, the general education of the people, appears to date from the new impulse which was given to piety and learning by the vivifying spirit of the Protestant Reformation, and which, in all the countries pervaded by its influence, led to the multiplication of schools in all directions, for the poorer, as well as for the middle and higher, classes. And that, not only on the part of Protestants, but on that of the Papists too, who deemed it necessary, in self-defence, to put into abeyance their favourite and well-known principles and general practice in favour of the popular ignorance, for which they had been wont to plead as “the mother of devotion,” and to scramble for their share in the general adventure. But it was not until the seventeenth century that the business of popular education came to be included in the scope of legislative interference. And, in the majority of instances, down to so recent a period as the close of the last, or the commencement of the present, century, it remained amongst the things supposed to be appropriate to, and sufficiently provided for by, the unaided resources and activities of the “voluntary principle,” as likely to exert itself in the dictates of parental conscience and affection, and in the generous and patriotic zeal of Christian benevolence and charity. At the earlier period to which we have adverted, as furnishing exceptions to this general statement, the interference which was practised was chiefly in the way of *school-compulsion*; that is, an obligation upon parents either to send their children to some school, or otherwise to show sufficient reason for their omitting so to do. “This obligation,” we are told by one of Mrs. Austin’s learned correspondents, (who writes on the authority of J. K. F. Schlegel,

in 1824,) "is at least as old as 1681 in the Principality of Calenberg, as 1689 in that of Celle, as 1663 in the Principality of Hildesheim, as 1752 in the Duchy of Bremen and Verden." And, on authority derived from other sources, the same correspondent says, that "it is at least as old as 1643 in Saxe-Gotha, as 1767 in Lippe-Detmold, as 1769 in Prussia." It may be added, that in New-England it was adopted as early as the year 1642; and, in Scotland, even as early as 1494. And, further, about the middle of the eighteenth century, the Government in Prussia and Germany interfered, as will hereafter be more particularly mentioned, in the business of promoting the instruction, and regulating the appointment, of Schoolmasters.

And now, France and England alone, with few exceptions, lagged in the rear of other European nations; though in the general circumstances and internal condition of neither of these usually leading countries did there exist any just reason, why they should not have shown themselves amongst the very foremost to begin, rather than amongst the last to follow, in an enterprise so greatly needed, and, if only well and wisely undertaken, so richly fraught at the same time with every kind of advantage. France may be left to answer for herself in this matter. And she may also be allowed to make the very most she can of the honourable fact, of her having anticipated us, as to the time of her commencement, in this great business; as well as of the farther circumstance of her having thrown her educational proceedings almost wholly into the hands of the disciples and agents of Rome. But on behalf of our own countrymen, we will take leave to say, that their characteristic unwillingness to commit themselves to any movement of importance, which appears to admit of further delay and more exact inquiry,—their yet imperfect knowledge of the real state of education in the country,—the wide and irreconcilable differences of opinion which existed upon various points connected with the subject,—and the existence of no small amount of doubt and suspicion, as to the intrinsic value of the new Continental systems and the probability of their working to advantage, or even with safety, amongst a people so widely different as we are, in sundry respects, from those nations in which they are said to have so largely succeeded,—may be offered as a fair explanation, if not as a satisfactory defence, of the tardiness with which the Legislature of our country may seem to have proceeded in this matter. For ourselves, we are not quite sure but that results will show, if those who complain upon this subject will only exercise a little patience, that, according to the law which obtains in mechanics, we have gained in *power* what we have lost in *time*. We are even inclined to think, that, as one result of the comparative slowness of our procedure in the case, the interests of public education in this country are in a stronger and more hopeful position, than if we had been in greater haste to copy

at once, and at all hazards, or even with less of caution and deliberation, the example either of France, or of any other of our Continental neighbours.

In the first instance, our countrymen were very slow to believe that the want of education amongst the humbler classes existed to any such extent as to require large general arrangements for its further promotion, either by private effort, or by legislative measures, such as those which had been adopted on the Continent. And when, from a more particular attention to the educational statistics exhibited in the Reports of the Education Committee,* and the Commission of Inquiry into Public Charities, the fact of a very serious deficiency in this department of our national economy became undeniably apparent, it was yet generally believed, for some time, that such deficiency might be very soon and easily supplied by voluntary contributions, with very little help, or even without any help at all, either from the public exchequer, or from local taxation. "In large towns," says Lord Brougham, in 1818,† "exceeding 7,000 or 8,000 inhabitants, there exist, generally speaking, sufficiently ample means of instructing the poor; not that there is almost any town where all can at present be taught, but that the laudable exertions of individuals are directed every where to this object, and are daily making such progress as will leave, in time, nothing to be wished for. Societies are formed, or are forming, of respectable and opulent persons, who, to their infinite credit, besides furnishing the necessary funds, do not begrudge—what many withhold who are liberal enough of their pecuniary assistance—their time, and their persevering and active exertion. Nor is it confined to the metropolis and larger cities. We find hardly a town of any note, in which some associations of this kind have not been formed; and there can be no doubt, that a sufficient number of schools to educate all the poor of such populous places may be maintained by the voluntary contributions of such bodies, if the obstacle be removed, which the first expense of the undertaking occasions. In parts of the country which are thinly peopled, and where the means of instruction are scanty, the poor are every where anxious for education, and are willing to make any sacrifice, within the bounds of possibility, to attain this object of their ardent and strenuous desire." In immediate connexion with these remarks, he says, "Where so powerful a disposition to carry on this good work exists in the community itself, we should be very careful how we interfere with it by any legislative provisions." The Committee of Education, however, of which he was the Chairman, went so far as to express its opinion, "that a sum of money might be well

* Appointed in 1816, and continued for three years.

† Speech on the Education of the Poor, delivered in the House of Commons, May 8th, 1818.

employed in supplying the first cost, (for building and outfit,) leaving the charity of individuals to furnish the annual provision requisite for continuing the school, and possibly for repaying the advance."

A somewhat glowing description this, upon the whole, of the condition and prospects of the country at that date, with reference to the means of popular instruction existing in 1818. But, unhappily, though not in the intention of its author, it was more resplendent with rhetoric than with truth. Accordingly, from evidence which, of course, it is not in our power to state exactly, but which we may fairly conclude to have been that which was beginning to convince all parties, except the *ultra*-voluntaries, that the story was "too good to be true," he appears very soon afterwards to have modified his views, both as to the extent of the existing want, and as to the means of its supply. In 1820, on the occasion of his introducing into the House of Commons a measure for the attainment of this object,* after a comparison of other countries with our own in educational matters, he pronounced Middlesex to be, "without dispute, the worst-educated part of Christendom." He farther stated, that, in England generally, "every fifth person was without the means of education; so that the condition of Switzerland was twelve times better than our own; and that there were about 12,000 districts in England, of which 3,500 had not even the vestige of a school; they had no more means of education than were to be found in the country of the Hottentots." Far be it from us to speak otherwise than in the most respectful terms, and with the most grateful feelings, of the distinguished nobleman, to whom the cause of education in this country is so deeply indebted. But, placing side by side the representation of 1818 and that of 1820, we ask our readers to "look on this picture and on that!" And we shall greatly wonder if their surprise at this bound—shall we say, from one extreme to another—do not exceed even that which some of them may have experienced on the memorable occasion of his passing, *per saltum*, from the Opposition benches of the House of Commons to the Woolsack!

For the purpose of supplying the deficiency which he described as being so disgraceful, he proposed that the ecclesiastical division of districts should be adopted; and that the building and maintenance of schools should be promoted, where they were required, under the authority of the Quarter-Sessions, who should have a discretionary power, on their being appealed to for that purpose by competent parties, to order the building of a school and the appointment of a master,—the public to be answerable for the sum expended in building the school,—but the salary to be defrayed by the county to the amount of £20 or £30, and the schoolmaster to depend, for the residue of his maintenance, on

* See Speech delivered in the House of Commons, June 20th, 1820.

the success of his exertions as a teacher. The rest of the details were framed upon the avowed principle, that "the burden"—we should rather say, the *advantage*—"of the whole measure must, of course, be thrown upon the Ministers of the Established Church; and that the system of public education should be closely connected with that Church." And so, bating a few saving clauses and exceptional provisions, intended to conciliate the Dissenters, it was an affair of the Established Church from the beginning to the end.

We find it difficult to persuade ourselves, that the author of the measure could have cherished any considerable expectation of succeeding, either with Parliament or with the country, in proposals so one-sided and suspicious as those which it embodied. But, in his connection with the Education Committee of the three preceding years, he had aroused, in certain quarters, no small amount of alarm as to the mischief which himself and that Committee were supposed to be preparing. To use his Lordship's own words, uttered in 1835,* there had been those who "thought that he was sowing, broad-cast, the seeds of revolution, and who did not scruple to accuse him of aiming at the *dictatorship*, by undermining the foundations of all property; and who also believed, that the Education Committee was pulling down the Church by pulling down the Universities and great schools, and that his only design could be, to raise some strange edifice of power upon the ruins of all our institutions, ecclesiastical and civil." Under this view of the suspicion and odium which he had incurred, taken in connection with the fact, that the Clergy in general were now disposed to look at his proceedings in a more favourable light, as was evident from the alacrity with which they had furnished him with the required Returns, the measure in question may be regarded as having been, at once, an "*amende honorable*" for the strange fright which he had so unwittingly occasioned, and a satisfactory pledge of his orthodoxy for the future.

The Bill was lost, of course; but it was not without other uses than that of setting its projector right with his friends of the Establishment. It had, further, the effect of stirring up the public mind from the condition of comparative stagnation into which—even upon subjects of the deepest interest—it is so ready to subside, and also of rectifying some of the *data* and conditions which are required for the determinate, or even approximate, solution of the educational problem which then was, and still appears to be, the master-puzzle of the country. And, on the supposition—which we incline to think the future historian will consider as a fact—that the introduction of this Bill was mainly a tentative procedure, intended to elicit and

* Speech on the Education of the People, delivered in the House of Lords, May 23rd, 1835.

exhibit conclusive evidence as to the policy or even practicability of creating in this country, at the national expense, a National School-system, cognate in principle, and commensurate in its extent, with the Church which, by general courtesy, is called "National," it was the means of virtually settling the two-fold question of possibility and prudence, in a manner which ought to have been sufficient to quiet all High-Church aspirings in the case, on one hand, and all apprehension of unfair dealing, on the other.

The general question was revived, at intervals, in various ways; but nothing very material was done until the year 1833, when, on the motion of Lord Althorp, an annual grant of £20,000 was made by Parliament, for the promotion of education in Great Britain. This money was applied, in the first instance, through the medium of the British and Foreign School Society, and the National Society, to aid their resources, and the voluntary contributions in each locality, in the erection of schools.

It still remained to be seen whether or not it was practicable to establish a general system for the education of the people, on the principle of recognising the equality of their civil rights in matters of religion. Accordingly, in 1839, under the auspices of Lord Melbourne's administration, an earnest attempt was made to carry an Education Bill constructed strictly on that principle. And in this attempt the Government was countenanced by the majority of the Protestant Dissenters, who, during the six preceding years, had supported the British and Foreign School Society, as one of the almoners of the Treasury in the distribution of the annual Parliamentary Grant, and who had also warmly encouraged the establishment of the Committee of Council on Education. But the High-Church party, as if still smarting from the discomfiture of 1820,—and some of them, at least, in a tone which reminded us of the *memorem iram*, and the *mene incepto desistere victam*, of "the sister and the wife of Jove,"—assailed the scheme with all the authority and influence they could command in the country, in both Houses of Parliament, and at the foot of the throne. This opposition on their part might have been described in gentler terms, but that, not satisfied with objecting to the measure on the grounds of its interference with the assumed prerogative and practical operation of their Church, and its positive encouragement of Popery, they rushed into the extreme of an exclusiveness which, had it not been that it was generally regarded as a subject for contempt and ridicule, rather than for serious alarm, would have made the furnace of the general contention seven times hotter than it was. A leading Resolution, adopted at one of the most numerous and respectable of the many meetings convened upon the subject, affirmed, that "national education, to be conducted on any sound and consistent principle, must be carried on in connexion with the Church of England, and under the superintendence of

the Clergy." And the *magnus Apollo* of the meeting maintained, that "to the Clergy, of right, belonged the education of the people, and he must protest against its being taken away from their superintendence." "We," (the Clergy and laymen of the Church,) said he, "would establish and endow scriptural schools for all who are willing, or whom we could persuade, to come to them; and *we would endow no other*. If other persons set up schools, we would say, Let such persons alone, except so far as you can persuade. If this, the highest ground, cannot be taken, the next best course is, to do nothing." By the Wesleyan community, and by very many others, the measure was opposed, on account of the mischievous latitudinarianism of its basis, its violation of the Protestant principles of the British constitution, and its tendency, in practice, to make public education irreligious. The promoters of the Bill were thus driven by the storm from their immediate purpose, with reference to the establishment of a National Normal School; and on the 4th of June it was finally abandoned. The Committee of Council, however, which had been appointed in the month of April of the same year, persisted in the prosecution of their general object, by securing an enlargement of the Parliamentary grant for educational purposes, and by the establishment of a system for the periodical inspection of all schools receiving assistance from the same. They also succeeded in their recommendation,—first, that the sum of £10,000, granted by Parliament in 1835, towards the erection of Normal or Model Schools, should be given, in equal proportion, to the National Society, and to the British and Foreign School Society; and, secondly, that the remainder of the grants of the years 1837 and 1838, yet unappropriated, and any grant that might be voted in the current year, should be chiefly applied in aid of subscriptions for building, and, in particular cases, for the support of schools connected with these societies. In addition to this, they adopted measures for the development of a system of apprenticeship of pupil teachers. With a view to this, they directed Forms of Apprenticeship to be prepared; and these were published in the first volume of their Minutes, together with a brief account of the Dutch School organization, and farther information with respect to plans of school-buildings and arrangement of classes, calculated to remove all *practical* obstacles to the adoption of the system.

For the purpose of removing the *theoretical* objections growing out of an extensively-prevailing suspicion of the evils which might come in, with the adoption of continental fashions in so grave a business, the Norwood School of Industry, and other schools of pauper children, had been carefully organized on the Dutch plan. Assistant teachers were placed under the direction of the master. Pupil teachers, selected from amongst the most proficient scholars, were apprenticed to him; and Lord John

Russell, then Secretary of State for the Home Department, appropriated £500 per annum to the promotion of these new arrangements, so that the experiment might be fairly tried.

"As soon as the system had received a sufficient development, it was thrown open for public inspection every Friday, and visited by all who took an interest in the progress of Public Education. The vague apprehension of the introduction of a foreign innovation was thus effectually dissipated. The Schools of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, of the Juvenile Prison at Parkhurst, and of other public establishments, were subsequently organized in the same manner.

"The exorcism of this prejudice, however, was an easy task, compared with the difficulty next to be encountered. Not only were the Pupil-teachers to be apprenticed, but they required daily instruction in a much higher class of studies than the scholars of elementary schools. The existing race of masters was, for the most part, incompetent for the discharge even of this lower class of duties; and to have apprenticed Pupil-teachers to them would have been to insure the failure of the new plan of organization. The schools which were organized under the Poor-Law Commission, the Admiralty, and other departments, were supplied with masters chiefly selected from Scotland; but these were, generally, imperfectly instructed in method, and ignorant of the organization of schools. The Teachers of the National and the British and Foreign School Societies were then trained, for short periods only, in teaching in their Central Schools, and received little instruction beyond the opportunities of observation and practice thus afforded. The foundation of a Normal School was, therefore, indispensable."—*Sir J. K. Shuttleworth*, pp. 61, 62.

But how was this great object to be gained? The Government had, very recently, experienced a severe defeat in their attempt to establish such an institution, and were not likely very soon to renew the hazards and the party-strife which would be probably connected with any new attempt, on their part, to meet the exigency of the case. And thus, as it respected any general improvement of the Teachers of Elementary Schools, matters seemed to have arrived at a dead lock. But the stream of general feeling on this subject, hemmed up on one hand, found an opening in another. The account is thus given by Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth:—

"To give an example of the constitution of a Training School,—to make trial of the peculiar difficulties of its discipline,—to develop a suitable scheme of study,—to settle the proper methods and course of instruction,—to determine the mode in which the teaching of the Training School might itself serve as an example to the future elementary schoolmaster,—and to settle the relations between the Training and Practising Schools, were all matters on which it was felt to be useful that experience should be obtained. But what was most important was, to discern and to develop the proper tone of thought and character among the students,—to send them forth under the influence of right principles,—and to give them a true insight into the responsibilities and rewards of their vocation. These were the objects which

the founders of the first English Training School proposed to themselves. The present Bishop of Sodor and Man placed his village-school (at Battersea) under their direction as a Practising School, and, with no little magnanimity, became the Religious Superior of the Training College. The founders commenced their labours in 1840, by removing from Norwood several Pupil Teachers, who had been pauper children in that school, and who are now successful masters of parochial schools. They published two Reports of their Proceedings, before they submitted the College to the examination of the Queen's Inspectors; and, after four years, when it had produced the effects for which it was established, they transferred it to the management of the National Society.

"The consequences of this step were soon felt. The vague apprehensions of evil, from the influence of such institutions, were converted into a general confidence in their tendencies, and a conviction of their necessity. The religious communions, by whose exertions the plan of the Government Normal School had been defeated in 1839, felt that, with this public example of the beneficial influence of such an institution, they could not justify that opposition unless they founded Training Colleges. Notwithstanding, therefore, the large amount of funds required for their erection, and for the charges of their maintenance, schemes for founding Training Schools were speedily formed. The Committee of Council encouraged these plans by grants of money; and, in 1844, framed a Minute, defining the conditions on which they would continue to grant such aid towards the erection of suitable buildings.

"Before the publication of the 'Minutes of 1846,' six Training Schools for schoolmasters, and three for schoolmistresses, had been founded in England, and four in Scotland, all of which were under the inspection of the Committee of Council on Education; besides which, two Normal Schools, connected with the Congregational Dissenters, existed, which had received no aid from the Government, and were not under inspection. Thus, fifteen schools had been founded in six years."—Pp. 62-64.

The renewed struggles, occasioned by the educational clauses in Sir James Graham's Factory Bill, in 1843, and by the Minutes of the Committee of Council, of August and December, 1846, will be familiar in the recollection of our readers; and we need only add one or two extracts from Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, to show how the Minutes just mentioned have operated, both with respect to Pupil Teachers and to Schoolmasters.

"These Minutes confide the charge of the apprentice of the Elementary School to its managers, until he attains the rank of Queen's Scholar, when his education as a schoolmaster will be completed, under the direction of the Governors of the Training School. At any point of this career he may be dismissed by the Managers, without appeal. The conditions of his education are, that he should, as a candidate, and in every year of his apprenticeship, pass certain examinations before the Queen's Inspector, on subjects expressly prescribed in the Minutes; and that the Clergy and Managers, or, in Dissenting schools, the Managers only, should certify that his moral conduct, and his attention to his religious duties, have been satisfactory. During the appren-

ticeship, the Committee of Council support the Pupil Teachers by stipends, rising from £10, in the first year, to £20, in the last; and also reward the Master for the instruction which he gives them, by an annual addition to his salary, proportionate to the number of his apprentices. Not only is the Elementary School thus rendered more efficient, without any additional charge to the Managers, but it provides a systematic education for carefully-selected apprentices. And a general examination determines who are worthy to enter the Training Schools as Queen's Scholars. For every Queen's Scholar admitted, the Government will pay from £20 to £25, towards the cost of his maintenance and education, during the first year; and, if he obtain a Certificate at the examination of the Queen's Inspector, at its close, a second contribution of £20 will be made. In the second year, a successful student will, by his Certificate, secure £25, and in the third, £30."—Pp. 75-78.

The following is a statement of the number of schools and scholars connected with the Church of England and the other religious communions, furnished to Sir J. K. Shuttleworth by parties officially representing each of them respectively:—

	Schools.	No. of Scholars in Attendance.
Church of England	17,015.....	955,865
British and Foreign School Society	1,500.....	225,000
Wesleyan Education Committee	397.....	38,623
Congregational Board of Education	89.....	9,000*
Roman Catholic Schools	585.....	34,750
Ragged Schools	270.....	20,000
Total...	19,856	1,283,238

In the Educational Returns of the Census of 1851, the number of Public Schools is stated to be only 15,584; that is, 4,272 less than above stated. But this discrepancy may be sufficiently accounted for by the circumstance, that "the number of Public Day-Schools (in those Returns) represents the number of entire and distinct scholastic establishments. Thus, a school for boys and girls, if under one general management, and conducted in one range of buildings, is regarded as only one school, although the tuition may be carried on in separate compartments of the building, under separate superintendence." The general practice, we believe, is otherwise.† The same Returns give 1,419,300 as the total number of scholars; being less by 134,062 than the number above given. This difference we can account for only on what we think a probable supposition,—that the Returns

* Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, in his Table, p. 148, states the number of Scholars to be only 6,839. The mistake is corrected by Mr. Baines, in his "Strictures on the New Bill," p. 21.

† See the Educational Returns, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, on the motion of Mr. Bright, May 23rd, 1853.

obtained by Sir J. K. Shuttleworth were less comprehensive than those which were obtained for the Census.

We are but little disposed, at present, to go farther into the general statistics of Public Education, either as to the past or the future, there being scarcely two authorities that agree upon the subject. Lord Brougham quarrelled with the statistics of Dr. Colquhoun; and, more recently, Mr. Baines has quarrelled with those of Lord Brougham; Mr. Richson and Sir J. K. Shuttleworth have quarrelled with those of Mr. Baines; and Mr. Baines, again, with those of Sir J. K. Shuttleworth. And we are not, by any means, ambitious of the hazards of a controversy on this matter. We proceed, therefore, to some general observations, suggested by the actual position of public education, on some of the most prominent of the results which have already appeared.

It has enlarged the *scale of school instruction*. At a period not more remote than the concluding part of the last century, it would appear to have been the theory, and the practice, too, to fix the scale of education for persons in humble life, not on the *positive* principle of what they ought to learn, but on the *negative* principle of the extent to which they should be suffered to remain in ignorance. A strange procedure, truly; but we have high authority for saying, that so in reality it was. "Concerning the portion of ignorance," says Dr. S. Johnson, "necessary to make the condition of the lower classes of mankind safe to the public and tolerable to themselves, both morals and policy exact a nicer inquiry than will be very soon or very easily made."* In this passage, one knows not which the most to admire,—the *verbal* solecism, which surprises us in the startling, and somewhat ghostly, form, of a "portion of ignorance,"—or the *moral* solecism, which, in the face of common reason and humanity, stands up for ignorance, be it much or little, as being "necessary," either for private happiness or for the public good. But, since that day, a wiser and more liberal mode of reckoning has been adopted; and the man who would now be bold enough to lecture on this subject as Dr. Johnson did, would for his pains have credit for being blessed with a "portion of ignorance" quite as great as that which the sage moralist, in the extreme either of his hypochondriacism or his benevolence, could have been disposed to imprecate upon "the lower classes" of the day in which he lived. Still, this advance has been accomplished with a tardiness as great as if we inherited, to some extent, the doubts and scruples of a former age, and were under the impression, that the effusion of a broader and more copious daylight of knowledge on the scene of general life, would serve no other purpose than to deepen and multiply its shadows. Down to a very recent period,

* Review of a "Free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil."

it was assumed to be enough, and almost more than enough, that every child should learn to read, write, and cipher, just well enough to qualify himself for the most humble purposes of life. And this was the *ne plus ultra* of youthful education, not only amongst the poor, but also amongst many persons in the middle ranks of society.

But of late years, under the new and vigorous impulse given by the general feeling of the country and the patronage of Government, the scale of the instruction given in schools for the poor has been extended, so as to comprehend, in addition to the subjects previously admitted, Sacred and Profane History, Geography, Algebra, Geometry, Experimental Philosophy, and (last, though not least) Vocal Music and Drawing. Here, again, at least with regard to the two last-mentioned subjects, we find, not an introduction of any thing entirely new, but a revival of two subjects comprehended in the ancient theories of general education. For Aristotle expressly mentions music and drawing as being amongst the things in which the youth of his day were generally wont to be instructed.* And he insists on the advantages which they derived from an acquaintance with the former of these two sciences especially, as tending very greatly to improve their taste and habits, as well as to enlarge the means of their recreation and enjoyment.

Simultaneously with the enlargement of the scale of school-instruction, has come a corresponding *improvement and elevation in the character and qualifications of the schoolmaster, and in the modes of education.* We are not disposed to perpetuate, by any repetition of them in our pages, the terms of ridicule which have been so frequently employed for the purpose of describing the defects and infirmities, physical and mental, of certain of the humbler pedagogues and school-dames of former generations. *Requiescant in pace.* It was not their fault, but that of their betters, that their incapacity for other occupations should have been their passport to the office which many of them so ludicrously and often injuriously occupied. We would therefore leave them, as Christian charity requires that we should do, to slumber, with all the records of their too widely-celebrated imbecilities, in the concealment of the peaceful shade, into which their doings and misdoings have been thrown by the superior qualifications and abler services of those by whom they have been happily succeeded.

In justice, however, both to the one class and to the other, it ought to be remembered that the credit of the reformation which has taken place is mainly to be assigned to the comparatively modern establishment—in this country, at least—of *institutions for training teachers* to a proper knowledge and a skilful practice of the duties which belong to their profession. Such institutions

* *Polit.*, lib. iii., cap. 2.

began to be established on the Continent in the commencement of the last century, as appears from the following statement, which is given on the authority of Sir William Hamilton :—*

"Franke, the celebrated pietist, must be regarded as their originator. Beside his noble foundations of the Pædagogium and Orphan-House of Halle, stood a seminary for the instruction of teachers, whether of learned or popular schools; and under Steinmetz, and his successors in that abbacy, Klosterberge, near Magdeburg, was long a nursery from whence schoolmasters, trained in the principles of Franke and the spirit of Spenerian Pietism, were transplanted over the whole north of Germany. The education and the educator now became an object of general interest in Germany. From 1730, academical lectures on *Pädagogik* appear to have been regularly and universally delivered; and for philologists by profession, and those destined for teachers in the classical or learned schools, *special seminaries*, in which the stipendiary *alumni* were carefully instructed and exercised, gradually became attached to all the principal universities. Overlooking the *Seminarium Doctrinæ elegantioris* of Cellarius, in Halle, the *Philological and Scholastic Seminary* of Göttingen, which owes its origin to Gesner, in 1738, was the first regular institution of *this* kind,—an institution imitated in Jena, Halle, Erlangen, Helmstädt, Leipsic, Heidelberg, Kiel, Breslau, Berlin, Munich, Dorpat, &c. The beneficial results of the seminaries for learned teachers naturally directed the attention to the education of the inferior instructors. In Prussia, the meritorious Hecker, a pupil of the Frankean discipline, had supported at Berlin, from the year 1748, a sort of nursery of popular instructors, in which Frederick II. testified an interest. In 1752, a royal ordinance enjoined, that on the crown demesnes, in the New Mark and Pomerania, all vacancies in the country-schools should be supplied by pupils from Hecker's seminary. Basedow had the merit, at least, of concentrating public interest on the importance of improved methods of education; but the Canon von Rochow was the man who mainly operated a reform in the instruction of the people, and proved, by precept and example, the advantages of a more careful education of the primary schoolmaster. The school on his own estate of Rekahn, in Brandenburg, and those on the adjoining properties, were organized under his direction. Hither travellers, from all parts, flocked, to admire and imitate. In fact, from 1773, these became the model schools, to which young men, from every quarter of Germany, were sent, to be trained in the principles and practice of primary instruction. The good example operated. In Prussia, previously to the period of revolution, public seminaries for the education of inferior schoolmasters were established, at Halberstadt in 1778, and at Breslau in 1787, while similar establishments elsewhere were supported by private liberality. The other States of Germany have not, however, lagged behind the country in which these institutions originated; and the lesser States have been even more forward than the greater. Though far inferior to most of the German principalities in the education of the lower orders, Hanover has one of her seminaries, for the training of primary schoolmas-

* See Preface to Mrs. Austin's Translation of "A Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia, by M. Victor Cousin," p. 21.

ters, which dates from 1750. The Bavarian reform was more recent. The spirit of amelioration was communicated from Germany to the neighbouring states. Denmark became an early imitator. Russia has more recently followed the example. Switzerland has been tardy and partial in her adoption of these institutions."

Still more tardy, we may now add, was England to learn the educational lesson which, for three quarters of a century or more, the Continental nations had been teaching and carrying into practice with so much success. She was, in short, almost as little disposed to exchange old English for new Continental modes of education, as she would be to abandon her glorious and—would that we could say,—undamaged and imperishable constitution, in favour of any one of all the new-fangled constitutions, of which the Continent has been in modern times so abundantly prolific. But prejudice on this subject having been converted by fair experiment into approval, there was immediately kindled an enthusiasm in favour of the once-suspected innovation, which has ever since been proof against all objections, whether theoretical or practical. The Government, indeed, failed, in the first instance, as we have already shown, to embody the new principle in the form of a national institution. But, with the *vis insita* which is peculiar to recent and earnest convictions, the principle itself opened its own way to practical adoption, in the less questionable form of institutions originating in spontaneous charity, and assisted by the Government only upon special application.

To the whole tribe of elementary schoolmasters, this was the opening of a new dispensation. They ceased to be a class accounted little capable, and still less deserving, of the pains of culture, and worthy only of an estimate proportionate to their scanty garniture of knowledge, and of school-apparatus, and still more scanty gains. Their office rose at once to the dignity of a *profession*, inferior, it may be, to certain occupations which have hitherto monopolized that name, but still sufficiently elevated and important to have, under the patronage of the public and even of the Government itself, its Colleges, its *curriculum* of training and instruction, its Exhibitions and Scholarships, its formal Examinations, its Diplomas and Certificates of Merit, and its Calendar of fame. The schoolmaster is not remarkable as being less accessible than others to the attractions which connect themselves with fair opportunities of improvement and distinction. It would therefore have been an anomaly in human nature, if, with this new and powerful stimulus to the advancement of themselves and of their order, the more recent class of schoolmasters had not risen considerably above the schoolmasters of other days, both in character and in position. Some idea of this improvement may be formed from the following list of the subjects in which the students of one of the most recently-established training institutions were submitted for examination

by the Queen's Inspector, at Christmas, 1852, at the close of the *first* year after its establishment:—*

Male Students.

Arithmetic.
English History.
Euclid, Algebra, and the higher Mathematics.
English Grammar, Language, and Literature.
Geography and Popular Astronomy.
Music.
Languages (Greek and Latin).
School Management.
Drawing.

Female Students.

English History.
Geography.
Natural History.
School Management.
English Grammar.
Domestic Economy.
Music.
Cutting out and making a Front.
Gallery Lessons in the Industrial Drawing.
Needlework.†

To these were added supplementary examinations, by means of papers prepared by the Committee of the Institution, on the Evidences of Revealed Religion, Scripture Doctrines, and School Teaching.

Of the *thirty-eight* students presented for examination, *twenty* obtained certificates of merit.

Amongst other objections laid against the Minutes of Council of 1846, it was urged at the time, that, "in practice," they would "produce a deteriorated article."‡ Now, we profess ourselves to be utterly unable to discover how the quality of an article in the department of education is likely to be deteriorated by bounties to "those who display the highest qualifications for schoolmasters," any more than the quality of products in the various branches of art and manufacture are deteriorated by bounties to those who furnish the best specimens. Is it not the fact, that premiums to excellence tend very powerfully to evoke, and even to create, the excellence which they reward, in every department, from the highest walks of science and literature, downwards to the poultry-yard? And are they not the means of raising the *average* standard of the quality of products generally, by bringing out a competition, of which general improvement, not deterioration, is the natural and necessary consequence? Nay, do not all systems of encouragement by premium go ultimately to supplant that which is inferior, by the introduction of that which is superior in quality and use? Such, precisely, have been, "in practice," the effects of the Minutes of 1846. Both in the schoolmaster, and in the *matériel* and mode of his teaching,—instead of "a deteriorated article," we have an article greatly improved; and that which is inferior and

* Wesleyan Training Institution, Horseferry-Road, Westminster.

† For the papers used in the examination, see the Thirteenth Report of the Wesleyan Committee of Education, pp. 128–161.

‡ "Struggle for Freedom of Education," p. 17.

inadequate, has, in many instances, already given place to something better. With reference to these points, the following testimonies, from the most recent Reports of her Majesty's Inspectors, are very full and satisfactory:—

"The schools in which certificated teachers and apprentices are employed are, for the most part, in a very satisfactory condition, presenting a marked contrast to those which have not availed themselves of the aid afforded by the Minutes of 1846."—*Rev. H. W. Bellairs, M.A., &c. Minutes of Committee of Council for 1852-3*, p. 435.

"The present moment appears to me well suited for duly considering the result already attained through the working of the Minutes of 1846, which may be deemed by this time to have had a fair trial. And I would state my experience with regard to their effect. In the schools much good has decidedly been effected by providing superior teachers for the several classes of children, and by raising the character of the instruction given to them. Upon the apprentices themselves the most marked advantages have been conferred. The reports given to me in private, as well as the statements made to me officially, are highly satisfactory, and speak well for the system, for the teachers, and no less well for the schools of the poor in which the apprentices have been trained. With our school-teachers the Minutes have produced a very great change: many have felt themselves obliged to vary their occupation, to resign the important charge with which they had been intrusted, and to leave their situations to be filled by persons more equal to the fatigue, anxiety, and mental labour, which must ever attach to a school-teacher."—*Rev. E. Douglas Tinling. Ibid.*, pp. 575-577.

"Whatever progressive improvement in the elementary education of this district (*Hampshire, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex*) it has been my pleasing duty to record, I find it in the present year to have advanced in a ratio beyond that of any previous interval. In discipline, in moral tone, in religious and secular acquirement, in intelligence, in the number of schools in which these improved features are discernible, I see nothing but the most encouraging results. I cannot but ascribe this mainly to the pupil-teacher system, and to that of certificates of merit."—*Rev. W. H. Brookfield. Ibid.*, pp. 712, 713.

"The operation of your Lordships' Minutes is acknowledged, on all hands, to have raised the general idea of popular education throughout the country; it has spread abroad new and improved plans, called forth a fresh and increasing pedagogical literature, and held out hitherto unknown inducements for men to enter into the labours of a primary teacher; it has presented, moreover, a standard of qualification to which every teacher now feels himself bound to aspire, and has furnished assistance in the schools themselves, by means of which these more advanced ideas and improved plans of operation may be carried into practical effect."—*Mr. Morell. Ibid.*, p. 966.

Another of the benefits connected with the recent growth of public education has been, the emphatic re-assertion and establishment of the great principle, that all education, to be availing to its proper and highest ends, must be *religious*. In the Dialogue which we quoted at the outset, Socrates distinctly intimates that the great object at which it ought to aim is, "that the *souls* (of

young persons) should be made as good as possible."* And Plato lays it down expressly, that religious instruction is the basis upon which it should be built. The materials for such instruction were, in his day, scanty enough: but he would use such as he had. And, discarding from the nursery and the school the childish and impure fables which disfigured and polluted the poetical and popular mythology, he would, from the earliest period, inculcate the notion of a God (or gods) incapable of trickery, or change, or falsehood, or impurity.† And it might be partly through the medium of fables, that this instruction would be given: but they would be fables carefully selected, and such as those which Lord Bacon so strongly commends in his remarks upon the "Wisdom of the Ancients." And that, with the little knowledge he possessed upon the subject of religion, he should have gone so far, affords presumptive evidence how much farther he would have gone in the application of his principle, if only he had enjoyed the advantage of something better than his own philosophy to be a light unto his feet, and a lantern to his path.

To a considerable extent it has been the tendency of modern times, to assign to religious teaching, as an element of education, less of importance than that which is attached to it in the theory of Plato. The secular has taken precedence of the sacred; and, in many instances, both in theory and in practice, the sacred has been excluded altogether, and that, too, upon the avowed principle, that sound morals are, or may be, the product of a simply intellectual education. Of the philosophy which thus confounds our moral with our intellectual nature, it is enough to say that it is not only at variance, *toto cælo*, with the scriptural truth that a religious faith is in reality the true and only basis of moral righteousness, but also with all true philosophy; and that it may fairly share the plume with the folly which would look for grapes from thorns, and figs from thistles. It is remarkable, however, that in almost every instance, along with the revival of Public Education, there has come in a revival of the principle which connects it with religion, as being essential to its proper character and just results; and, very generally, the supremacy, in education, of that which is sacred above that which is secular, is now admitted as an axiom. We say, very generally; for there are not wanting, even in this country, those who appear to speak and write as if they thought that the *great* value of Public Education consisted chiefly, if not entirely, in its efficacy as the means of social improvement, and particularly in its tendency to qualify the humbler classes of society to exercise, intelligently and to the public advantage, the *elective* franchise, and other privileges which the legislature has recently conferred, or may presently confer, upon them! The truth cannot ultimately suffer from the opposition by which it may be tested. On the contrary,

* *Laches*, sect. 12.

† *Plato, Polit.*, lib. ii. sect. 17-21.

the general result is, that it is the more firmly established. And so, in this case, the attempts which have been made in various ways to exclude the formal teaching of religion from the routine of Public Education, have had the effect of bringing out, in both Houses of Parliament and throughout the country, declarations in favour of religion as an element of education, much more strenuous and decisive than would otherwise have been given, and which settle it to be the practical rule of the *country*, as it is the doctrine of Scripture, that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and to depart from evil, that is understanding."

The trial of this rule in practice, in the public schools established within the last few years, has made it clearly apparent, that so far is religious instruction in the school from hindering, that it greatly assists both the Teacher and the pupil in the other departments of instruction. Our own views on this subject are very nearly expressed in the following extract :—

"With respect to the character of the *intellectual* training in 'religious' schools, what appears to be aimed at is this : that all secular truths and ideas shall, as far as possible, be presented to the minds of the children in connexion with those of a higher order, wherever any natural relation can be shown to exist between them ; and that religious thoughts shall thus be made not merely to run parallel with, and give a colour to, the whole range of secular studies, but to serve, so to speak, as their basis and foundation. Thus, in communicating to children the first general notions of the science of *Grammar*,—a subject which, as usually taught, does not appear to connect itself very readily with religious ideas,—I have heard a gallery lesson given on different occasions, of which the following outline will show the general character :—Beginning with the simplest truth, that man alone possesses the power of speech, this faculty is explained, both as a distinct and eminent gift of the Creator, and as respects the uses to which he wished it to be applied. A skilful teacher will often so handle this subject as both powerfully to interest the class, and as a natural introduction to the explanation of words as symbols and representations of thoughts. It is then observed, that man was not only endowed with the power of speech, but that a definite *language* was given him to speak ; that he received *one* language, and not many ; and that it was human wilfulness which occasioned the introduction of new forms of speech, not as a privilege, but as a punishment. Truths, truths of a higher order, are employed, naturally and judiciously, to lend their own interest and importance to others of a different nature. This is the essential characteristic of the instruction in 'religious' schools."—*Report of T. W. M. Marshall, Esq. Minutes of Council, 1852-3, p. 1052.*

With respect to "the discipline and formation of character," Mr. Marshall emphatically adds,—

"In this respect, which evidently concerns society at large, far more nearly than any subordinate or technical details of school-statistics, I know no other class of schools, whether for girls or boys, which has even the slightest pretension to compare with those under the direction of religious communities."—*Ibid.*, p. 1054.

On this subject it would appear, that, in the United States of America, the stream of general opinion has, of late years, been flowing in an opposite direction.

"In America," says Mr. Siljeström, "all positive religious instruction is banished from the schools. In a country professing perfect religious liberty, the exclusion of religious instruction from the schools becomes a matter of absolute necessity, if any general system of popular education is at all to exist. Were separate schools to be erected for the separate sects, this would, besides many other disadvantages, render the schools much more expensive, while at the same time they would degenerate in character."—P. 226.

This theory still finds considerable countenance; and it has been taken for granted, that the reading of the Bible for five or ten minutes daily, with a short prayer and a hymn, is the *ne plus ultra* of "religious" instruction in the day-school; and that the Sunday-schools make ample provision for any deficiency which might remain to be supplied. But, in the judgment of the generality of the evangelical religionists of that country, the "great experiment" has failed. The following is an extract from the testimony given to H. S. Tremenhoe, Esq., in 1851, by the Rev. Dr. Edson, Rector of St. Ann's church, Lowell (U.S.):—*

"Seeing that the system of public schools established by law was the only one possible under the circumstances of the country, I have applied myself with all the zeal in my power to make it efficient; and I have endeavoured to cause the deficiency of religious instruction in the day-schools to be supplied, by encouraging Sunday-schools to the utmost of my opportunities. To the children of my flock I have given all the doctrinal instruction in my power in the Sunday-school, and by other means. I have interested myself generally in favour of Sunday-schools, seeing in them the only mode under our system to imprint on the minds of those who most require our teaching, the principles of revealed religion. My experience, however, of now nearly thirty years, as a Pastor, has, I am sorry to say, forced upon me the painful conviction, that our public-school system has undermined already among our population, to a great extent, the doctrines and principles of Christianity. That this evil is already nearly universally felt and acknowledged in this country, there is no longer room to doubt. From throwing off authority in regard to religious matters, and holding doctrines loosely, the step is easy to abandoning them altogether; and, accordingly, it consists with my observation here during several years past, that the great majority of those now growing up cannot be said to hold more than belongs to mere natural religion."

With such evidence as to the practical results of Public Education in America, we may be excused for withholding the admiration which has been so loudly claimed for it. And we may be thankful for the system which, as we think, the Government of this country has more wisely and successfully

* "Notes on Public Subjects in the United States and Canada," pp. 50-53.

adopted, of stimulating voluntary effort by public assistance, and of encouraging the utmost freedom of religious teaching, on the basis of the Scriptures, in connexion with all possible facilities for secular instruction. Some modifications of the system seem still to be required for the purpose of rendering it more comprehensive and effective in its application. But these modifications appear likely to be accomplished only by struggles and controversies similar in character, though gentler in tone, to those by which the cause of Public Education has advanced to its present position. One of her Majesty's Inspectors cheers us with the information, that, "in his intercourse with the principal supporters of schools in his district during the past year (1852), he has observed a very remarkable convergence of opinions on this subject."* And we are not without hope of those of the Non-conformists who are generally considered to be represented by Mr. Baines, that, though they may not be persuaded to abandon the *principles* which they profess on the subject of Government assistance to religious education, they may yet be induced to return to the *practice*, with which, up to the date of 1846, they judged those principles to be not entirely incompatible.

Meanwhile, in conformity with a law which very generally operates in well-compacted communities, the educational movement in this country in favour of the humbler classes is exerting, indirectly, an important influence on other classes besides those for whose advantage it was primarily intended. The upward bearing which has, of late years, been given to the education of those classes, and to the qualification of their teachers, is already acting very powerfully on the classes immediately above them. Hence the new royally-chartered "College of Preceptors," with its Examinations, its graduated classification of Certificates, its Scholarships, and Prizes, and its formal "Propositions" to the Committee of Council on Education, for the "compulsory examination of all professional teachers of the middle classes of society." Hence also, in part, the recent waking-up of our two leading Universities. "The Government Inspectors of Schools," said the Chairman of the last half-yearly General Meeting of the College, "were on the alert; so were the great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They felt that, if the College insisted on a high class of education, it behoved them to be awake, and make progress commensurate with the requirements of the age; and he should advise the members to be also wide awake and progressive, or they would find themselves thrown from their seats by the upward heaving of the education of the classes below them. But, being on the watch, they would not only rise themselves, but also elevate the Universities."†

* Rev. J. P. Norris, M.A. "General Report of Schools inspected in the Counties of Chester, Stafford, and Salop;" "Minutes of Council," 1852-3, p. 797.

† "Educational Times," July, 1853.

Better than all this, however, to the humbler classes themselves, there is *one* thing in particular connected with the new facilities for their instruction, which indicates a gracious purpose on the part of Divine Providence, to furnish them with an effectual protection against a mischief to which, in these days, *they* are more especially exposed. Disappointed of their hope of finding favour in high places, or even in the better classes of intermediate society, for their Pantheism, and other forms of infidelity, the apostles of these blasphemies against the truth are now plying their insidious vocation, through the medium of cheap and attractive publications and popular addresses, amongst the working and poorer classes. But, through the operation of a general school-system, which is avowedly intended to diffuse, and will, no doubt, be eminently successful in diffusing, amongst the rising generation of those classes an intelligent and heart-felt knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, as well as by other means, God is providing a counteractive and availing antidote. "The enemy cometh in as a flood," but "the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him."

- ART. IX.—1. *Historical Outlines of Political Catholicism : its Papacy, Prelacy, Priesthood, People.* London: Chapman and Hall. 1853.
2. *Paganism in Education.* From the French of *Le Ver Rongeur des Sociétés Modernes.* By the ABBÉ GAUME, Vicar-General of Nevers, Doctor in Theology, &c., &c. Translated by ROBERT HILL. London: Dolman. 1852.
3. *Revue des Deux Mondes.* Tome seizième. Paris, 1852.
4. *Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century.* By G. G. GERVINUS, Professor of History in the University of Heidelberg. From the German. London: Bohn. 1853.

On the 24th of November, 1848, a private carriage was making its way from Rome as modestly as possible, so as to attract no attention: it bore the invalid lady of a foreign Minister, well known for her religious zeal. Obscure, in that quiet party, was an elderly man, the most downcast and unobtrusive of the whole: it was Pius IX., the Sovereign Pontiff, heir by special appointment of the Holy Ghost to the chair of St. Peter, successor to the Cæsars and the Popes,—who ruled the world, first by arms, and then by priestcraft, Kings the subjects of their rule. Now all was changed: bankrupt in exchequer, in political power, in *prestige*, the Pope was glad to escape in the train of a female devotee, and seek a doubtful asylum in the territories of one of his meanest retainers, the King of Naples. In the mean time, France is swept by revolution and counter-revolution,—her throne the sport of the populace, her republic at the mercy of an intoxi-

cated soldiery; anarchy, military despotism, confiscation, proscription, have shaken the land: but at length there is an interval of quiet; a great multitude is collected on the Champ de Mars; a long procession approaches, with all the pomp of stately robes, golden splendours, incense, and solemn music: it is an embassy from the Pope, come to bestow that blessing without which the new Napoleon cannot feel safe upon his throne. Thus it has happened many times in the world's history. Rome has been denied, dethroned, defeated, trodden under foot, in the turmoil of conflict; but when the tumult has subsided, the solemn chant once more rises to a reverent multitude, and the procession sweeps along in its impassive march, slow and majestic, through the midst of worshippers; the foot of ecclesiastical power treading upon the prostrate souls of its voluntary captives.

And what marvellous power is this, which lords it over the world, whilst undisguisedly decrepit and helpless on its own rickety throne! The Ruler of Kings, wearing the triple tiara to typify his supremacy, maintains his seat only by favour of French protection and Austrian bayonets; the dispenser of power cannot negotiate even the most beggarly loans; and the tiara itself, if put up for sale, would scarcely fetch the price of its own gewgaws. But the pretensions of Rome have always been in the direct ratio of its decrepitude; its usurpations have been most arrogant and progressive, when its legitimate authority in its own circumscribed territory was most in question. It is so now. Pius IX. sits upon a tottering chair, and yet he is giving laws to Europe. Austria herself has become Guelph, instead of Ghibelline, in order to curry favour with her own *protégé*. In Ireland the election of the Roman Catholic Prelates is set aside, in contempt of immemorial prescription, and a nominee of the Sacred College, an upholder of the Ptolemaic principle in astronomy, in politics, and in society, is created Archbishop of Dublin, and now rivals in influence the accomplished Archbishop of the Established Church. Spain, which has from time to time succeeded in maintaining some degree of independence of Rome, has now completely succumbed; has restored the authority and all the recoverable property of the Church, and virtually recognised her as the only settled institution. In France, allegiance, education, public conscience, are handed over to the representatives of Rome; and the once independent Gallican Church is compelled to confess itself a minor department of the Sacred College. In constitutional, Lutheran Holland, the Pope establishes a Roman Catholic Hierarchy, with territorial titles, as he has done in England. And in our own land, the Statesman whose greatest boast is his recognition of Protestant Dissent, and who risked his political influence in order to resist a similar hierarchical aggression on the part of Rome, is seen shrinking from a most rational and necessary measure for securing inspection of Roman Catholic nunneries, in whose secluded cells

women and children may be detained,—*are* detained,—and are, at least, exposed to be maltreated, in defiance alike of law and of humanity.

The case of Holland ought, especially, to come home to English understanding and sympathy. In faith Lutheran, and in politics constitutional and strongly conservative, Holland has been treated with a caprice and contempt exactly like that shown to England. In 1850, the Government of Rome made application to the Government of Holland for information respecting any obstacles that might exist to the establishment, in the last-named country, of a hierarchy to administer the control of the Romish Clergy. The answer stated, that it would be necessary to obtain the consent of the King and the Estates; and that, in the fulness of toleration, that consent might possibly be obtained. Rome, however, did not act at the time. But early in the present year an ecclesiastical Envoy arrived in Holland, with the plan of a hierarchy, which was promulgated without the formality of obtaining the consent either of the King or the Estates. The consequence was, an immense ferment in that Protestant kingdom; a paroxysm of indignation was felt, similar to that which we have witnessed in this country, and has gone so far as to occasion a ministerial crisis, and a condition of affairs, that even conjecture would shrink from attempting to decipher, but that the Court was suspected of insincerity in its opposition to the pretensions of Rome. This enables us to understand why more than one Ministry, faithful to the religious sentiment of the country, found it difficult to retain office. The King wished to remain true to the Lutheran standards of faith, and had given proof of his inclination to moderate and constitutional, if not Liberal, courses; but the "party of order," which, under that specious name, is drawing Europe under the tyranny of absolutism, spiritual and temporal, had in some way alarmed the good King out of a perfect loyalty to those standards. There was a great "agitation" in Holland,—a ministerial crisis,—a dissolution of the States-General. The Papal party kept unusually quiet; and when the new States assembled, the King met them with fresh assurances that the policy of the kingdom should be preserved without disturbance. He assumed a *tone* of greater firmness, and that appears to have had the effect of lulling suspicions; but we may rest assured that the Romanists have not lost the whole of the advance that they had gained.

Entomology supplies us with a parallel to this incident. There is a fly called the ichneumon, whose instinct teaches it to deposit its eggs in the body of a living caterpillar: the fly accordingly pierces the worm with its sharp ovipositor, the unfortunate victim—much larger in bulk than its persecutor—writhing under the process. But the egg is lodged; and the caterpillar—its paroxysm having subsided—resumes the daily business of life, eating its terms as regularly as a student at the Temple, and

more placidly. So it exists for a time,—the living *nidus* of an alien and intestine enemy. At length, however, the anti-constitutional intrusion is matured; and then the ghastly *simulacrum* of a living creature, expiring in agony, gives a monstrous birth to that which has been its torturer. And so the heir to the innocent Protestant caterpillar is the insidious Popish ichneumon.

In Ireland, the progress of the Papacy is marked and decisive, although subject to more than one drawback. The National System of Education is the field on which this progress is most manifest. It is a scheme respecting which Christians have entertained conscientious diversities of opinion: we are not, however, about to enter into the question of its merits; but shall only relate the particular mode in which the Church of Rome has taken advantage of the dissension. When the system was first established, it approached very nearly to that which is advocated in England under the name of "Secular Education," the children being taught in mixed schools, Catholic and Protestant together; their religious instruction being left to their respective pastors. Subsequently, it was thought desirable to give the children a knowledge of Scripture history, Christian morals, and other elements of Christianity not involving express and formal statements of doctrine, which were still left to their own pastors. A series of books was compiled, for the use of the schools, of an admirable kind;—lucid, consecutive, and peculiarly adapted to impart practical knowledge to the untrained mind. Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the necessity of rendering special religious convictions a more prominent and overruling element throughout the whole course of instruction, there is no question that the students under this system acquired a degree of information on general subjects, and an elevation in moral conduct, decidedly above that which is attained by the same class in this country. It has continually been remarked by intelligent visitors in Ireland, that the rising youth were assuming a strength and fulness of intellectual development, far beyond the average proportions of the hedge-priest, or even the Maynooth casuist, to say nothing of the Ptolemaic Primate; and that they would thus become a people over whom the anti-intellectual rule of Catholicism would be impossible. Humiliating as this view might be to Rome, her most faithful adherents could not fail to perceive its truth. Their future was, indeed, alarming. The number of children attending the schools has remained at nearly half a million, until last year, when it exceeded that amount by twenty thousand. The middle classes had been induced to follow the example of the labouring classes; notwithstanding every exertion of the Priests, the Queen's Colleges were not unattended; nay, even in spite of the prohibition from Rome, Priests were found to minister religious instruction to the pupils. The enormous emigration, stimulated by the famine at home, and by

remittances from those who had found fortune in America, carried away two millions of the population from the Priests, whose very bread was thus at stake. Nor could they follow, since, notwithstanding the constant influx of a Roman Catholic population into the United States, the statistics of the sect show no increase; the absolute freedom of the Western Republic creating a social atmosphere of an open and bracing kind, in which Catholicism cannot breathe freely. The Priest, therefore, was doomed to stay behind, while he saw his flock emigrating, and his pupils still entering the Queen's Colleges, or—in numbers that ever increased, notwithstanding the departure of the two millions—the National Schools. The tendency of a large section of the Clergy itself to a liberal co-operation with the Protestants was not the least alarming incident; and there is no doubt that the appointment of Archbishop Cullen was intended as a rebuke to those who had followed the mild and tolerant example of Archbishop Murray;—a man who remained true to the standards of his Church, and yet showed by example that it was possible, without disloyalty to Rome, to work in good faith with those who were loyal to their country and its Government.

Such was the position of the Romish Church in Ireland when the Church Association, at length, succeeded in altering the system employed in the National Schools. The Scripture readings were the first point of attack; the High-Church assailants, however, obviously aiming at a breaking up of the entire system. Somehow or other, a rule had been passed by the Commissioners, that an objection made in behalf of a single child should occasion the discontinuance of the Scripture readings, notwithstanding the willingness, or even *the positive wish, of the rest* to pursue them; and this objection was first enforced in a model school, in behalf of a child introduced, no doubt, for the purpose, from the jurisdiction of the notorious Archbishop M'Hale. The subject came before the Education Board in Dublin; Archbishop Whately, who had prepared the Scripture readings, and other books of that kind, and who is stronger on a point of logic or rhetoric than on the question of his own literary merits, was outraged; the more earnest friends of education strove to rescue the system which had worked so well; but the feeble government of Lord St. Germans, too timid to take a decided course, permitted the Board to continue its policy of trimming, and the worthy Archbishop was driven to resign. That he was not actuated by a personal or party crotchet, was proved by the fact, that he was accompanied in his resignation by Mr. Blackburn, Chancellor under Lord Derby, and Mr. Baron Greene. The friends of National Education at once feared that it would now be broken up between the two factions,—Orange and Ultramontane,—which had driven out its keenest guardians. The official people assure us that it will not be so; that it will go on as before: but how are we to trust to a Ministry which

has been so vacillating hitherto? We can only hope that, by the meeting of extremes, they may now have been fairly frightened into firmness.

The triumphant aggressions of Rome are ubiquitous in Western Europe; but it is in France, especially, that the Papal forces display all the insolence of sudden conquest. There they have a most fit confederate on the throne itself,—a very incarnation of the genius of Popery,—crafty, specious, treacherous, ruthless; a self-idolater; knowing no law but his own desires, and pursuing them with a slow, sure, and untiring perseverance. Strong in the purchased support of such an ally, the Priestly party flaunt, once more, the banner of Hildebrand in the faces of the conquered, and openly avow that their aim is universal dominion, to be won and held by ensnaring, narcotizing, and debasing the minds of men. The Abbé Gaume commences his celebrated attack on classical learning with the following proposition:—

“With the exception of some few acts of disobedience, we find that, during the Middle Ages, the whole of Europe showed itself full of respect for, and obedience to, the Church. Christian in faith, laws, and customs, in institutions, arts, sciences, and language, society quietly developed those beautiful proportions which, day by day, brought it nearer the divine type of perfection.”

There we have the very essence of Ultramontaniam, whose motto is, “Backwards! *Redeant Saturnia regna!* Restore the Middle Ages!” That is the strain which resounds from the pulpit and the press. By every means, and through every channel, the work of restoration is plied with most workmanlike division of labour and unity of purpose. Let us observe some of its details under the hands of three leading craftsmen. The learned Monk, Ventura, preaches up mediæval philosophy; Donoso Cortes teaches the readers of the *Univers* to aspire after the order, harmony, and stability of mediæval policy; the Abbé Gaume would sanctify literature and art, by eliminating all but their mediæval elements.

The only philosophy fit for Christian men, according to Père Ventura, is the scholastic philosophy of the Middle Ages, especially that which is comprised in the majestic system of St. Thomas Aquinas. The only truth which it is possible or lawful for the mind of man to discover is, that which may be logically deduced from the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. True science is nothing more—can be nothing more—than a commentary on the faith of Rome. Whoever attempts to search out truth, by merely applying the powers of observation and reason which God has given him to the investigation of the phenomena of God’s creation, loses his time, his labour, and, in the end, his soul. Such, in his view, are the consequences of preferring Bacon’s method to that of St. Thomas Aquinas, which, strange to say, is neither more nor less than that of the Pagan philosopher, Aristotle, whose name, however, is never mentioned by

Père Ventura; though the Angelic Doctor, in common with all Schoolmen, revered the Stagirite as his master, and adhered to his system with scrupulous fidelity. From all this it results, if there be any force in logic, that Aristotle is one of the pillars of the Catholic faith;—the *Organon* ought to be numbered by Rome among the canonical books of Scripture; the Ten Categories should be revered like the Ten Commandments.

The recently deceased Spanish Ambassador at the Court of France, Senor Donoso Cortes, created Marquis of Valdegamas, was a distinguished member of the constitutional party of Spain; but suddenly became a convert to Ultramontane views after the Revolution of 1848. He had laboured assiduously to form the political constitution of his country after the French pattern; but the sudden fall of the Government which he had taken for his model, struck him with consternation, and drove him to excogitate another system, which should rest on a basis remote and secure from the perpetual convulsions of mundane society. He found the fulcrum he sought in the Catholic Church. There he recognised, with glad tears of repentance, the desiderated principle of authority; and, having made the blessed discovery, he proceeded to apply it to human affairs in general,—above all, to the government of nations. The exclusive authority of the Church in politics, as well as in religion, was for him the only means of salvation here and hereafter. Owing all his success in life to the exercise of his talents in the Parliamentary *arena*, he looked back with pious horror on his past career, and its cardinal enormity, discussion. "Discussion," he exclaimed, "has undone the world; it is literally the original sin. All discussion is the offspring of Satan, 'born in the terrestrial paradise, at the foot of the tree which was the object of the first temptation, and the cause of man's first transgression.' The serpent was the inventor of that accursed art, and the prototype of all who have since practised it. From the primary debate in Eden has issued that series of deplorable discussions, which has ever since filled the earth with confusion and bloodshed: thence has sprung Liberalism, the last expression of human pride; and this has engendered Socialism, which is its last chastisement. No more discussion, then! Let reason acknowledge its own impotence, and bow submissively to the decisions of an infallible authority; let the Catholic Church temper and control, as well as create and sanction, all the powers of this world." Catholicism, according to Donoso Cortes, contained within it, from the very first, an entire political system. Its divine author laid the foundation of a new and complete order of society. He was a revolutionist in the best sense of the word. He based upon the ruins of the old world a graduated and regular system of four degrees, the last and highest of which is the Catholic Church. These degrees, taken in the ascending series, are, first, the domestic circle; secondly, the parish; thirdly, monarchy;

fourthly, ecclesiastical authority. To each of these degrees belongs a twofold duty,—that of obeying its superior, and of righteously commanding its subordinate: rights there are none. The existence of rights cannot be admitted; for it involves that of an appeal to force, if they are infringed. Every right urged to its extreme limits is pregnant with insurrection. There are, then, no rights, properly so called; but there are duties; some of them incumbent on the King, the Noble, the father of a family; others, again, incumbent on the subject, the peasant, and the child. The Church, as supreme arbiter of all moral relations, watches over the accomplishment of these duties, and is infallible in the fulfilment of her own; she deposes Sovereigns who violate them, and condemns subjects who resist the powers set over them; she is the safeguard alike of subjects against tyranny, and of Sovereigns against rebellion. Thus it is,—if unhindered by human perversity from completely realizing her own beatific ideal,—thus it is that the Church would maintain perpetual harmony in the political world.

But how is a stubborn world to be cured of its illusory belief in natural and civil rights, and to be converted to this state of political beatitude? Much as Father Ventura's philosophy might effect towards that end, it cannot effect all; besides, it requires for its own more complete success much previous care and contrivance, in order that the seeds of wisdom, falling on a well-prepared soil, may germinate readily, and yield their due increase. The Abbé Gaume provides for this in his scheme for re-modelling the education of Christendom, which he introduces with the remark, that—

“Under the apparently secondary question of who shall teach the child reading, writing, ciphering, Greek, and Latin, will be found hidden the question of sovereignty: *The cane of the master is the sceptre of the world.*”

It is commonly supposed that Christianity, more or less pure, predominates in Europe; and that, however imperfectly its dictates may be obeyed by communities and individuals, it nevertheless exerts a paramount influence over their tone of thought, their habits, and their laws. But this, the Abbé assures us, is a total mistake: Europe is thoroughly Pagan, and has been so ever since the fifteenth century,—that deplorable epoch which witnessed the revival of classical literature. The new element then introduced was the immediate cause of the mis-called Reformation; and it has ever since continued to blight the germs of Christianity, and frustrate the husbandry of the Catholic Church. The lettered class throughout Europe, having been educated in the study of Greek and Roman literature, are Pagan to their heart's core; and, as the opinions and morals of the learned form those of the unlearned, it follows that society is Pagan from top to bottom. This universal malady once defined,

we cannot hesitate in our choice of the remedy. The whole system of education in the colleges, and the higher classes of schools, must be re-modelled; the ancient classics must be consigned once more to the oblivion in which they lay during the Middle or Golden Age, and for them must be substituted the Lives of the Saint, the writings of the Holy Fathers of the Church, and so forth. Such is the Abbé Gaume's main conclusion, and one that is perfectly logical, from the Ultramontane point of view; it has, accordingly, received the unanimous support of that party in France. Well may the Church of Rome desire the suppression of the remains of classical antiquity, for they bear testimony against her usurpations, her frauds, and her adulterations of Christianity with matter borrowed from Greek speculation and Latin mythology. As long as sound classical learning subsists, there will not be wanting heralds to trace back the true pedigree of the Romish rites and doctrines. Naturally, therefore, the Abbé Gaume insists on shutting up that formidable arsenal, as a first step to his grand design of converting literature, art, science, customs, and institutions into servile ministers of the Papacy. His solicitude respecting art is hardly inferior to that with which literature inspires him. Nothing is to be tolerated in either department that is not in accordance with the true theological type; both must become mediæval.

Considering the stupendous magnitude of the task which Rome has set before her, there is not much reason to wonder that her hand is every where seen. It is not only in the political or ecclesiastical council that her agents are busy; they are to be found even in the opposing ranks,—in the most worldly circles, or the most Protestant conclaves. They are in the Church of England itself,—in the congregation, the pulpit, the missionary bands of that corporation. They are to be found in the drawing-room, the Legislature, the newspaper-press. They make their approaches by every conceivable means. It is not only the Priest, or the reactionary, who is at work to bring back Rome into your house, in order to enlist your son for one of its orders, or as a lay-auxiliary, your daughter for its convent, your property for its endowment; but your taste must be led captive by the devices of the bookbinder, the printer, the cabinet-maker, the painter on glass. "Practical art," and "high art," are equally employed to surround the sensitive and the impulsive with the furniture and ornament of a mediæval and Popish state of society. Experience has taught these shrewd æsthetical analysts of the human mind, that ideas sometimes creep in with the grossest forms of association. A jewelled symbol, "which Jews might kiss, and infidels adore," will suggest to the unstable mind a love of symbolic finery; and the dogma will be accepted either to sanction the indulgence, or to lend it brilliancy. The *studio* of the artist is at once a weak point for attack, and an outpost from which to assail the citadel. Characterized by ardent feeling,

rather than mental power or logical training, the artist is a missionary all the more effectual from being only half conscious. In his hand old ideas acquire new forms; the beauties of conventual retreat, the full sincerity of religious passion, the ineffable tenderness of divinely-directed love, may be displayed in the work of his genius; and if these imposing influences are associated with the quaint devices of Rome in her prime,—if the early crudities of art accompany the outward display of the emotions which the sensitive would wish to share,—then the mediæval cabinet in your friend's "oratory," the *prie-dieu* on which he seats you in his drawing-room, the singular picture which decorates his walls, recalls you to that world of sanctified imagination; you become familiarized with the arts and appliances of Rome; they surround you on every side, and mingle with your memories and affections. Thus you have to deal with a power which considers no influence too trivial, no weapon too insignificant, for its purpose, and which labours as assiduously to pervert the taste, as it does afterwards to mislead the judgment, or destroy the will.

We revert to the question left unanswered some pages back: Whence does Rome derive her perpetual gift of resurgence, her immortality of mischief? The secret of her strength consists in the singleness and fixity of her purpose. The spirit that animates her is as permanent as the corporate form in which it is embodied, and she is ever ready to seize the opportunity which the vicissitudes of time are sure to present. This portentous persistency awes and subjugates the minds of men. To strive against it seems to them a contest with absolute fate. They drop their arms in despair, and suffer themselves to be led captive, or they go over with arms and baggage to the ranks of a power which they deem invincible. Concerning France, Albert de Broglie says:—

"The men who devote themselves to the service and defence of the Catholic Church, know whither they are going, whence they come, what they seek, and what they expect; their efforts have a definite end and aim; a common direction doubles their strength by combining it; a revered authority holds them well in hand, and guides without humiliating or constraining them. What an inestimable advantage, in the midst of a wearied nation, which has tried every thing, and held fast to nothing; which has broken with the past, and has no confidence in the future; and which, after the most varied and exhausting emotions of hope and fear, has only strength enough left to enjoy the languid luxury of a day's repose! All modes of opinion in France are like travellers who have lost their way. After long plodding and peering in the trackless sand to recover it, after long looking in vain for pilot-stars in the cloudy sky, they give up the hopeless endeavour, and sit down, scarcely troubling themselves to think that they must stand up again, or in what direction they must resume their journey. Before them passes a troop of men, well equipped, well marshalled, marching straight onwards, undismayed by the

length or the fatigues of their route. The temptation to follow them is great, even for those who do not know them. Such is the feeling more or less consciously experienced by minds that yearn for better things, and to which revolutions have brought only disappointment, when they behold the ardour, perseverance, and unity which belong to Catholic propagandism."

Tout vient à point pour celui qui sait attendre. "Wait, and the opportunity will arrive." The gambler is sure of winning, if only he can play long enough. Rome sits for ever at the gaming-table, and misses no chance there may be for her on the cards. In the endless changes and fluctuations of the political world, there is always something turning up, of which she can take advantage. In one country or another, there will be some unruly faction striving to get the upper hand; it sees an influence ready made in Rome, to rule spirit as well as matter, an influence which can impart to its upstart ally the dignity that surrounds a partnership with eternity. A bargain is struck; and the Louis Napoleon of the day conspires with the power as old as the Seven Hills to rule,—say France,—and divide the booty.

If we wish to see how the practical working of these principles concerns ourselves, we cannot have a lesson more in point than is furnished by our own country. The same bargain between tyrannous faction and persistent Rome has marked every period of our history, in which prerogative has sought to overbear national rights. The arrogant and recreant John, whose demeanour towards Rome was most insolent and contumacious, changed his tone when he wanted a more sustained strength than his own, to carry on the contest with his Barons, and fell back upon the old bargain. Shamelessly forgetting the decencies of royalty, he treacherously surrendered his country to Innocent III., and received it back as a fief under Rome; he then hoped to crush those popular rights which were already expanding, and of which the trial of every man by his peers was not the least precious. Luckily, the most tangible interests of the Barons were at stake; castles and lands exerted a more powerful influence, even in those days, than pardons extending beyond the grave; and on the field of Runnymede was concluded that treaty which established national privileges, and frustrated, for a time, the alliance between the throne and Rome. John was gathered to his fathers; but Rome never dies. England was, for generations, distracted with civil wars; but at last came a Sovereign who was bent upon indulgences, flagrant beyond what even Rome could sanction, though she had tolerated a Cenci, and enthroned a Borgia. Henry VIII. quarrelled with Paul III. Then began that impulse of freedom which constrained Englishmen to a new contest with the crown. The latter, meanwhile, fell into reactionary courses; and the reckless and pedantic James I., with all his Protestantism, stood

upon his divine right to reject the humblest petitions of Parliament, and to imprison its Members. Under Coke, the Parliament recorded that noble protest which laid down the right of free debate. Royal despotism and Popish principles could not long remain divorced; and Charles, who carried his father's political principles to a still more hazardous issue, was fain to record an alliance with the Mistress of the Seven Hills. He claimed to tax the subject by prerogative, and his priestly allies found a warrant for his prerogative. His Chaplain Montagu put forth that notable book, "*The Appeal to Cæsar*," in which, besides maintaining the doctrine of the patronage of saints and other Popish ideas, he contended that the English and Romish Churches were founded on the same authority, and that the King enjoyed a divine right superior to law. What is this but to state nakedly the terms of the bargain:—if Cæsar will exalt the Church and its Clergy above law, the Church will lend him a hand, and help him on to the same elevated platform? Montagu, called to account by the Parliament, found a powerful protector in Laud, who said of the book, that he did not know how civil government could be maintained, except on such a principle. So said that same Laud, who laboured to restore in the offices of the Church the gorgeous ceremonial of Rome; who endeavoured to obtain the sanction of the law-officers of the Crown to put a prisoner to the rack; the same Laud who worked the inquisitorial powers of the Star-Chamber; the same Laud who proposed to revive or extend the powers of Convocation, and to make it a means of taxing the people in lieu of the contumacious Parliament. The contest was fearful; but again the Teutonic element prevailed. The two accomplice representatives of spiritual and political tyranny, Charles and Laud, paid the forfeit of their presumption with their heads; and when, on his accession to the throne, William III. was required to sign an inventory of the nation's rights, including the personal and the conscientious liberty of the citizen, with means to defend that liberty, he did but ratify the terms of peace dictated by the people, and vindicated by their representatives, in that long contest with Charles and Laud. William stepped into the place of Charles, in order to ratify, in Somers's Bill of Rights, a more complete list of the national liberties, which Coke's Petition had offered for the acceptance of the Stuarts. But in the interval there had been the half-victory of Cromwell, the half-reaction of James II.; a period at which we may glance, to note how the master of Jefferys had sought to purchase a continuance of his struggling power, by negotiating the re-admission of England into the bosom of the Romish Church.

In thus glancing back at the most humiliating periods of our history, when John and the Stuarts were endeavouring to undermine the independence and trample on the liberty of the nation, and in tracing the contest waged by a patriot people, to ascertain

the spirit at work on either side, it is impossible to avoid being struck by the parallelism between that national contest and the one which is now going on in this country and in Europe. And the comparison is not of a kind to be entirely re-assuring. It is true that, in our own day, we in England enjoy freedom of discussion and of meeting, with a power of the press universally diffused, and the most rapid means of intercommunication; but are we animated by the vigilance of our predecessors in spiritualism, or the Petition-of-Rights men in politics? Do we not shrink from the contest? and, when we should set out to meet it, do we not rather intrench ourselves in peaceful homes, wilfully blind to the movements of the enemy's vanguard,—the forerunners of the immortal army of Laud and Innocent III.? Yet these indications are neither few in number, nor cautiously concealed. In England, Clergymen of the National Protestant Church are in allegiance to Rome; some avowedly, others disguisedly, and acting as spies. The Bishop of London lately discovered a Roman Catholic amongst his own Readers, and we can scarcely suppose that the case is isolated. The ceremonial which Laud sought to restore, is making way in the Established Churches; and, whilst the Priesthood of Ireland is undermining that system of education which it is the boast of the Whigs to have established, the most earnest education-member of the present Cabinet—the author of “the Durham letter”—shrinks from enforcing the inspection of nunneries. London has a Romish cathedral and a Cardinal Bishop, and is about to be adorned by a Catholic “Church of all Nations.” Our own ministers acquiesced in the restoration of the Pope by French arms; and are in closer alliance with the “party of order” than with those states in Europe which are now maintaining an unequal contest in favour of Protestant principles;—we may point especially to Holland, Switzerland, and Sardinia. And if we wish to see the alliance of Despotism and Rome consummated, we may look to those great States which maintain large standing armies, with head-quarters at Paris, Berlin, or Vienna, and other great armies in black, white, and grey, with head-quarters at Rome.

It is not unimportant to note, that some of the most valuable guarantees in the Bill of Rights are practically in suspense by the force of usage or of direct statute. Technical “law reformers” are continually familiarizing the public mind with the idea of abandoning trial by jury,—the most popular of the concessions which our Barons wrung from John, the Pope’s vassal.

To return to the main theme: the mind is bewildered by the apparent complexity of the movements now observed in many countries, and only the more bewildered by apparent coincidences. But as, to the individual combatant on the field of battle, the hustling conflict is hopeless confusion, while, to the general surveying the whole from a vantage-ground, it is the systematic

contest of two elements; as, to the wide survey of science, the very currents of the winds and waters group themselves into systems few and simple; so, to the elevated and far-reaching view of the philosophical historian, these accidents and coincidences of a day appear as the recurrent phenomena of a conflict enduring through the history of the world. The whole is comprehended in the volume recently published by Gervinus, as the Introduction to his "History of the Nineteenth Century." In this Introduction, he informs us, that his work will demonstrate a law of historical development, of which the accidents and coincidences that we are witnessing, form essential portions. The law was deduced more than two thousand years ago by Aristotle, from the history of the Grecian States; and, in the subsequent period, the exposition has been repeated but twice,—by Machiavelli in Italy, and by Hegel in Germany. The law is this: From oriental despotism to aristocracy,—from the systems of the ancients and the Middle Ages, resting on serfdom, or slavery, down to modern times, whose state-policy is still in course of being unfolded,—there is a regular progress from the intellectual and civil freedom of the one to that of the few, and thence onward to that of the many. The difference between the most ancient and the modern times is, that, in the latter, the range of the several stages of the process is wider, both in point of time and of geographical space. That part of the process which occupied the Greek peninsula two centuries has since had Europe for its field, and is still continued through a fourth century. This expansion is more observable in the later than in the earlier stages of the process, for obvious reasons. The extension of intelligence, freedom, and power from the one chief to the few of the oligarchy, is more easy, and therefore more rapid; because the oligarchs, being fewer, have interests more equally diffused among themselves, and are more capable of acting in concert,—the further extension being hindered by the opposite conditions among the many. Religious dissensions have conspired to divide the people; and, departing an instant from the text of Gervinus, let us add, that the modern tendency of religionists to treat of spiritual affairs as not only distinct from, but as incompatible with, temporal, has contributed to enfeeble the champions of religious freedom, who failed to perceive that, in abandoning all that pertained to civil control, they left in the grasp of the enemy a great lever of power over mankind, available collaterally for the promotion of spiritual doctrine. The Jesuits knew better.

Ancient tyranny and modern absolutism are essentially the same. The Roman Caesar, who was also *Pontifex Maximus*, is now represented by a Duad in the modern Emperor and his ally, the Sovereign Pontiff. To concentrate political power, and enforce absolute uniformity of institutions, is the idea both of Austrian civil absolutism and of Roman spiritual absolutism. Each class of power has its corresponding history of life and

death. At first, Chiefs of a warrior race, intrusted with power because the most able to serve as agents for the race, become tyrants, enjoying power for the sake of its personal consequences. The consequences of power render the Nobles selfish, enervated, and odious; and they, expiring, yield power to the many; who, in turn, grow arrogant, reckless, luxurious, blind to political consequences, a prey to the machinations of the traitor; *panis et Circenses*,—imperial munificence and priestly cajolery undermine individual independence, and the people decay. The external history of the Church is parallel to that of the State; for be it remembered, that however divine and one the truth on which worship is founded, the organization affects the human part, which is restless, double-minded, uncertain, tainted with ambition. The successors of the apostles, placed by royal and popular favour in the seat of luxury and power, began to relish the decorations and sumptuous attributes of their abode; the Popes became temporal Princes,—selfish, tyrannical, and chiefly anxious to extend their own territorial acquisitions. Priest and Prince maintained their encroachments side by side. After the depression of the great schism, which sent the Popes for safety and change of air to Avignon, the Papacy rose rapidly to power. Alexander VI. and Julius II. extended their territories, while Ferdinand of Arragon consolidated Spain, in order to drive out the Mussulman, and clear the field for the far more unchristian Inquisition. The Reformation, essentially popular in its character, as it was essentially Teutonic in its motives, was the action of the many to conquer power from Pope and Prelates, just as it has been in part conquered from Monarch and Nobles. But over a large part of Europe the Romish Church has succeeded in interposing a sickening delay to that process; and it has so effectually aided the despot to retain or recover absolute power, that we need not wonder if the despot returns the favour in kind. It is, indeed, for its own purposes that absolutism just now keeps a Pope, and maintains him in full working order at Rome. But if he is kept up for the benefit of temporal Princes, the mildest wearer of the triple crown knows—for he is trained to it—how to use his place to consolidate the authority of his line. The Pope, who “never dies,” never lives without the hope, which Innocent III. and Gregory VII. but half fulfilled, of being Lord of the Earth: and even half-way to that consummation, the Pope has known what it was, not only to keep an Emperor, but to carry many Potentates in his train. And in many respects the undying Pope is strengthened by a more vital policy than his temporal rival. “By an equal sway,” says Gervinus, speaking of the Papacy in the sixteenth century, in language that might be applied, almost without the change of a word, to the present day,—

“By an equal sway over the three great social institutions,—domestic life, the Church, and the State,—it established the most

fearful and comprehensive despotism the world ever witnessed. In domestic life it fettered the mind and conscience of man to its arbitrary will; it received him at his birth, prepared him at school to fulfil all its desires, and quitted him at his entrance into the active world, to return with renewed vigilance at his marriage, in the confessional, and at the hour of his death. In the Church it required him to resign liberty of thought and investigation, in order that unity of faith might reign throughout mankind: it degraded the State in the estimation of men, by stifling every national feeling, to substitute that of Christian unity; and by denying the spiritual investiture to the secular authority, it arrogated supreme power to itself over the secular ruler; it divested the State of all higher purposes, and laid claim to honours and dignities for the Church alone. This monstrous power was exercised by a Priesthood, outwardly separated from every other class of men, and internally preserved from the danger of change, progress, and reformation, by the institution of consecration, which formed it into a self-creating aristocracy. The Priesthood formed a body set apart by particular privileges, and the use of a separate language in their official duties, by their education and celibacy, and by the peculiar nature of their common interests. They were divided from all the ties of family, community, state, and country; a body who, in opposition to the remaining institutions of the State, and during a period when the inequality of class was universal, maintained the principle of the equality of man, by the systematic practice of doing honour to merit rather than to birth, and of leaving the highest places open to the peasant as much as to him who was born a Prince. Let any one, then, represent to himself this universal Catholic Priesthood in unconditional dependence on the Vicegerent of Christ, endowed with the arbitrary power and infallibility of God, and he will clearly see how nearly this power succeeded even at so late a period in leading all political and spiritual life into the narrow channel of a hierarchical policy. As this revived ecclesiastical power advanced with the despotic power of Princes, and in the closest intelligence with the greatest among the royal families of a later age,—a family who reigned as lords and masters in the Roman Empire of the German nation,—the reader will perceive that never, before the commencement of the sixteenth century, had this question arrived at so critical a point:—whether Europe was to sink under the oppressive rule of the hierarchy, or under that of royal absolutism, or under their combined and united weight, or whether a national and free development should be permitted to advance towards its maturity."

Rome and her tyrannical accomplices are proceeding by virtue of a law; but there is a higher law at work against them. Rome can persist, but human persistence perishes. The law of development which is exhibited in the works of creation, and not least in the history of man himself, decrees that mankind should outlive the tyranny of man. By virtue of their intelligence and ability, Chiefs and Nobles obeyed that law of development in obtaining power: they resist it when they attempt to retain a monopoly of power over their fellow-creatures who have worked up to their level of intelligence and ability; and the resistance cannot prevail. In some countries this becomes so evident, that

the few who have retained privileges, voluntarily surrender them. Of this, Hungary in her constitutional state, before the Austrian usurpation, was a shining modern example,—the nobles having voluntarily carried a series of measures, since 1825, abolishing their own privileges. And it is to be observed, that where civil liberty is thoroughly appreciated by the people, and is realized in fact, there exists also that spiritual freedom, amidst which the doctrines of Rome droop and languish. The appreciation of civil freedom is reviving in Germany; and it is remarkable that, concurrently with that revival, the Church of Rome is subjected to a serious decline of her influence, and to the formidable secession of the neo-Catholic Church. In Sardinia, under a constitutional government, arises a desire to wrest the conduct of affairs, public and private, out of the hands of the Priests; and that modest yet courageous state is carrying on a contest at the same time with Austria and with Rome. It is not an uninteresting fact, in the judgment of some persons, that in Ireland the concession of complete freedom, irrespectively of sect, has been followed by a decline of Romish power in that country, which will yet proceed, in spite of recent indications to the contrary. Other and more potent causes, we are aware, co-operated towards that result; and we by no means overlook them; but the importance of securing to each man a sense of personal freedom can scarcely be over-rated, as to its tendency to render his will independent, and to make him stand before the Priest without shrinking.

But the most striking influence of civil freedom as the guarantee of spiritual freedom, is seen when we follow the Irish emigrant to the United States, where the ever-flowing stream of Catholicism, yearly poured forth from Ireland, loses itself like an Australian river in the sands, without raising the level of the circumscribed pool already there. While the number of children receiving a degree of education so fatal to Popish influence, continues unabated in Ireland, notwithstanding the migration of two millions, principally to the United States, the fluctuating statistics of the Roman Catholics in the latter country show that no permanent increase takes place in their numbers. Yet the parents of that stock are not sterile; but the fact is, that the institutions of the country are fatal to Catholicism. Not by suppression;—quite the reverse. Not by spoliation, or disabilities;—the Americans have been exemplary for their good faith towards particular bodies, whatever their creed. The members of the Church of England retain their endowments as undisturbed as the property of the Quakers in Philadelphia; and the Roman Catholic emigrants enter so soon upon the enjoyment of their civil rights, that a few years since the Irish excited a formidable jealousy among the “native Americans,” not as Romanists, but as Irish, as *new* men in the country, who associated with each other to a degree which looked politically clannish and

factious. In the city of Boston the Irish element has gained a very remarkable ascendancy, the Anglo-Americans having retired to the suburbs. Yet, notwithstanding this manifest growth of Irish influence, the Romish organization and doctrine cannot make good their footing, for the simple reason that in America the state absolutely refuses to lend itself to the object of enforcing the temporal authority of any Church whatever; and without some such tangible hold on the actions and property of men, the Church of Rome cannot establish her usurpation.

We copy the following from a recent letter of the "Times" correspondent in New-York:—

"A signal triumph has been recently achieved in the city of Cincinnati by right-minded men, against a very injudicious attempt on the part of the Catholic hierarchy to establish a principle in that state, which, if once conceded, would become a dangerous, and perhaps in the end might prove a fatal, innovation upon the conditions by which this Government exists. It was announced by one of the Bishops of the Catholic Church in the west, a year or two ago, that the Canon-Law and the Creed of the Pope required, under the sanction of an oath, that the principles of the Church of Rome must be taught by every instructor of youth, wherever it is in the physical or moral power of that Church to enforce it. It was moreover said that the Archbishop was, by his official oath, bound to teach, or cause to be taught, to all the youth in his Church, the peculiar doctrines of the Papacy, including the persecution of Protestants by the Inquisition and other means, the compulsion of heretics to receive and adopt the Papal creed, the absolution of citizens from their oath of allegiance, &c. In pursuance of this *régime*, the Catholic Bishop of Cincinnati and his whole corps of Priests, when at length they felt themselves strong enough to carry a local election by throwing their force at the ballot-box in favour of any party that would sustain their views, entered the field, and, making a distinct issue with the people whether or not Catholic schools should be established by public law and maintained by taxation, were most ignominiously defeated. It was then understood that the entire Catholic force was to be turned directly against the whole system of common schools; and again they were defeated. It is pleasing to remark that when this same trick was tried in the city and state of New-York some years ago, it met the same fate; and it is still more satisfactory to think and to believe that any subsequent effort will have no better success."

In America the State refuses to enter into a partnership with any Church, simply because *it* has nothing to gain by such a bargain. Power has there become so much diffused that every man has his share. Each section of civil society is sufficient for itself: the parish rules the parish; the state, the state; and the federal government is not the master, but the guide and servant of the whole. "We are," said General Pierce, who, after sustaining a high position in the Senate, has himself volunteered to carry a musket in his country's service, "we are," he said, uttering his first address as President, "a nation of Sovereigns." Be it so. But what conspiracy can a nation of Sovereigns

enter into with a Pope? The only pontifical accomplice for a nation of Sovereigns would be a nation of Popes, which is a contradiction in terms. Were fanaticism to seize upon the American Government, and induce it to make an offering of that magnificent country to the Holy See,—to subject the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains to the Seven Hills, the Hudson and the Mississippi to the Tiber,—how could the subjection be effected? There is no vast standing army in America to subdue the multitude at the order of a bureau; but there is a great, an irresistible army, similar to that which won popular freedom for England,—the manhood of the country. The very machinery by which the Romish Church establishes its hold, is wanting; and therefore it is that the Americans admit the adherents of Rome among them freely and fearlessly.

This result appertains in common to all parts of the Union, whatever the original form of the state government; whether it was a theocracy on the Genevese model, as in Massachusetts; a Romish and feudal principedom, as in Maryland; an aristocratic, High-Church constitution, as in Virginia; a great landed aristocracy, as in Carolina; a democracy, as in Rhode Island and Connecticut; a Quaker cosmopolite republic, as in Pennsylvania; or a Flemish municipality, as in New-Amsterdam; whether its founders were English, Scotch, French, German, Dutch, or Spanish. The people were every where as strong as their leaders; an ocean between them and the old power-monopolies of Europe,—they arranged their own affairs in their own way; their institutions have grown with themselves; and the result of diffused power is to secure freedom for their minds as well as their bodies.

And thus it has come to pass, that America offers an absolute contrast to France;—America, where Franklin Pierce accepts the free and noble suffrages of a young power, champion of civil and spiritual freedom for the world; a trust which is the more noble, since it cannot be betrayed, and therefore cannot be accepted by a traitor for his own base purposes;—France, where one man snatches power from seven millions of his countrymen, maintains it by a vast standing army, trained and dieted to his service, and uses it, in complicity with Rome, for the subjugation of soul as well as body. American practice confirms the grand truth taught by philosophy, that civil and religious freedom are inseparable. God has ordained that men shall enjoy the former, only in proportion as they prize and improve the latter. There lies *one* antidote to the venom of Popery, a principle that, in conjunction with other and higher principles, will ultimately work its destruction. A contest is being waged between a human institution and the everlasting laws of the Creator, between human “eternity”—the man made “perpetual” by leasehold of Rome—and the Infinite Eternity: it is a contest between the Pope and God: he would be bold indeed who should doubt the issue.

ART. X.—*Statistical Papers, illustrated by Maps, relating to India; recently prepared and printed for the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. April 20th, 1853.*

THE first sentence of this important document is short and clear, easily written, easily read; but what a history does it imply! "With the exception of the Kings of Ava and Siam, with whom the East India Company have entered into diplomatic relations, it can scarcely be said that there remains any independent Prince in India, unless it be the Rajah of Dholpore, and the Rajah of Tipperah." Ava and Siam lie as clearly beyond the boundary of India as Lombardy and Tuscany do beyond that of France; so that the exceptions are really but Dholpore and Tipperah,—the latter a cluster of jungles toward the Burmese frontier, and the former an interior kingdom, with an army of 1,600 men! These two fragments excepted, "over all the other native states in India the paramount authority of the British power has been established."

To enable our readers to form some idea of the revolution thus quietly spoken of, we may refer to the description of the Mogul, written by Sir Thomas Roe, whom James I. sent as Ambassador to the court of Jehangir.

On the Emperor's birthday, the state display began by placing his Majesty in one scale, and in another an equal weight of "jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold, silver, and silk, butter, rice, fruit, and many other things, of every sort a little, which is all given to the Bramins." Then appeared a procession of elephants, led by one "beast of wonderful bulk and beauty," his head and breast covered with plates of gold and silver, studded with rubies and emeralds. On this "lord elephant" waited eight or ten others, "clothed in gold, silk, and silver." Twelve similar "lord-elephants," each with its retinue, followed; and each showed its training by bowing down before its royal master; whereupon our Ambassador says, "They made their reverence very handsomely: this was the finest show of beasts I ever saw."

Presently the whole court went out in procession: for the ladies came fifty elephants, richly adorned, and bearing each a turret, canopied with silver cloth, with a grating of gold wire, "to look through." Then came the Emperor, wearing a turban with a plume of "heron feathers," "a ruby as big as a walnut, a diamond as large, and an emerald much larger." Upon his neck three chains, "of most excellent pearls;" above his elbows armlets set with diamonds; three bracelets on each wrist; rings on almost every finger; a coat of cloth of gold; slippers set with pearl; belts of gold, and a sword and buckler, "set all over with diamonds." He rode in a coach drawn by four horses "trapped

and harnessed in gold and velvets." Before him went "drums, trumpets, and loud music;" canopies, umbrellas, and ensigns, glittering with rubies; and nine led horses, caparisoned with precious stones. Behind him followed superb palankeens, and then the Empress, the prodigy of romance, beauty, and power, known as Nourmahal, riding in an English coach, the present of our King; then twenty elephants royal, "so rich in stones and furniture, that they glittered like the sun." This was the royal procession, which was preceded and followed by elephants richly decked, amounting to six hundred; and all the way the road on both sides was guarded by elephants, each with a turret, four banners, and a swivel gun. Half a mile behind the Emperor, came his wives on elephants. The procession marched to a superb camp, where were glittering tents, a mother-of-pearl throne, and vast displays of grandeur; so that the English Ambassador says, "The vale showed like a beautiful city. I was ill provided with carriages, and ashamed of my equipage: for five years' allowance would not have provided me even an indifferent tent answerable to others."

Jehangir had inherited the empire when at its highest point of moral *prestige*. His father, the wise and generous Akbar, a Prince of whose political virtues it would be hard to speak too highly, had, during a reign of half a century, raised it to a grandeur, compared with which, the monarchies of Europe were inconsiderable. Fifteen Viceroys, some of them ruling a population of thirty millions, administered the provinces. How loftily they bore themselves may be gathered from the words of Bussy, the greatest French officer who ever fought in India, and and who, a century and a half later, thus speaks of the Viceroy (Soubahdar) of the Deccan: "When the father of the reigning Nizam came into the province to re-take Trichinopoly from the Mahrattas, all the European nations hastened to give him tokens of their *submission*, and to use all means for gaining his favour. Did he deign to write to one of their representatives? No, certainly: he did not even deign to honour with a look the rich gifts which they humbly cast at his feet as a tribute of dependance."

Under the Viceroys were a number of provincial Governors (Nabobs); respecting one of whom* the same great soldier thus speaks: "In his letters to our Governors he held a tone of authority very humbling to the French nation. We could appear before him only as suppliants, laden with gifts, which he exacted as tribute. Did one of his lower officers approach Pondicherry, we sent out deputations to receive him at a distance, with the highest demonstrations of respect."

One hundred years ago the English possessed no sovereignty whatever in India, and had but just begun to acquire a military name, in actions to which they were forced by the menacing

* Of Arcot.

advances of the French. The states then existing might be spoken of under three classes:—

1. **HINDU STATES**, held by princes representing native dynasties.

2. **MOHAMMEDAN STATES**, held by right of conquest.

3. **MAHRATTA STATES**, the most recent and least reputable of all. Runjeet Sing and Hydur had not yet arisen.

Of the first class, which alone could claim any sanction but the sword, not one powerful nation remained. The Mussulman conquests had been pushed, for seven successive centuries, through all the north, east, centre, and west; only in the extreme south did anything like Hindu power, of somewhat ancient date, survive. Even there, Mysore had been rendered tributary to the Mogul; and, perhaps, the little Rajah of Coorg, and the somewhat more considerable Rajah of Travancore, were all that could be called Independent Powers, representing a line of royal Hindu ancestors. All the other Rajahs who had escaped destruction at the hands of the Moguls were subject to tribute, and every manner of arbitrary exaction.

As to the Mohammedan states, the Emperor, or Great Mogul, was no longer what Sir Thomas Roe had seen him; but now a miserable wreck of royalty, of whom his own Viceroys and Governors had become independent, and on whom the new power of the Mahrattas ruthlessly trampled. The only real potentates in the country were, first, the Viceroys and Governors, several of whom had large armies, populous territories, and affluent revenues; and, secondly, the Mahrattas, who had spread themselves over immense dominions, had possession of the person of the Emperor, and had put out his eyes. The Mogul dynasty was established only in the sixteenth century, and had no title but the sword; all the Mohammedan Princes were its offshoots, had originally been its creatures, and were, without exception, of families but recently come to sovereignty;* and as to the Mahrattas, their origin and character are too notorious to be dwelt upon. From these facts it is plain that at the time when England began to take part in the politics of India, scarcely any government existed on the soil which was venerable by tradition, or strong in the affections of the people. A great empire, of foreign origin and intolerant creed, fallen to pieces; a number of its fragments, larger or smaller; and a swarm of freebooters, whose success was the loudest testimony to the disorder of the country,—was all to which the peaceable and multitudinous people of that great continent could point as their governments. The Mogul empire was a mass of ruins, underneath which the real native states were buried; and the Mahrattas were hordes of tigers prowling in the desolation: therefore the European power which arose had not to make

* Indeed, technically, they did not claim to be Sovereigns.

ruins, but to clear away those that encumbered the ground. Great reverses naturally excite regret; yet when regarding the thrones which have fallen not only in reference to their immediate incumbents, their heirs and associates, but as affecting the well-being of India, and through it of all Asia, we confess that it would be hard to conceive of so much splendour and name, coupled with so little, the departure of which is a loss to mankind.

And even respecting the heirs of the Princes, a curious question suggests itself. Suppose that Indian politics had flowed on, without English intervention, in the channels they were taking just a hundred years ago; would the present heirs of the men then reigning have been in happier circumstances than now? Would any native power have introduced the practice of not only sparing the person and protecting the family of fallen Princes, but of giving them royal pensions? Would the descendant of the Mogul have had personal safety and £150,000 a year? Would the heir of the old Kings of Mysore, whom Hydur pulled down, have had a palace, a court, and £100,000 a year? Would the Nizam have been still on a throne? No one acquainted with the country, its history, and its position at that time, will doubt as to the answer. In all probability not one of these, or of the other considerable Princes, would have had an heir now above the condition of a beggar. The only indigenous powers which have shown themselves during the century are the Mahrattas, Hydur, the Pindarees, and Runjeet Sing, between whom the battle for ascendancy would have lain; and when disposed to look mournfully on the pensioned royalties which adorn the statistics of the East India Company, we may console ourselves by reflecting, that safety and plenty are, after all, better than having the eyes put out, an iron cage, a prison, or a dose of poison, which would most certainly have been their portion had they fallen under any of those savages.

India is sometimes spoken of as if it were all British territory, and sometimes as containing many "native states." Both styles of speaking are correct: for England is the paramount power; yet, scattered here and there, amid our territories, exists a number of "protected native states;" a few of which are more ancient than ourselves; some, of our own creation; and some, of an origin contemporaneous with, or subsequent to, our own. They all recognise the paramount power of the Company; profess allegiance; renounce the right of making war, or holding diplomatic relations with other states; and concede to the Company authority to arbitrate in disputes with them. A few of them admit the right of the Company to interfere in their *internal* administration; some pay tribute; most engage not to employ Americans or Europeans; TEN pay for the support of a "subsidiary" force, which is maintained for their defence. The number of states "protected" without such a condition, is about TWO HUNDRED. These states range from a kingdom of ten

million inhabitants, down to little properties with a few thousands. Their aggregate population is fifty-three millions, and their military force about four hundred thousand men.*

The influence of British ascendancy on this great cluster of states, as compared with the condition in which they would be under native ascendancy, may be stated thus: In the one case boundaries would be uncertain,—now they are fixed; each strong or bold Chief would encroach,—now all are compelled to keep the peace; disputes would always breed wars,—now an arbiter settles them; the paramount power, if strong, would call for money and men at pleasure,—now all is regulated by treaty; and if the paramount power were weak, all the others would be in broil and misery,—now the four hundred thousand fighting-men whom the Rajahs choose to keep up are employed only on police services, in collecting the revenue, or for state show. Doubtless, many of those whose notions of our Indian Empire are formed from speeches and pamphlets, are little aware of the fact, that, under its protection, two hundred Princes reign in peace, defended from their neighbours, and yet parading their own armies, more secure than ever they were in any era of their country's history; while fifty-three millions of people, whom we do not call British subjects, are cultivating their fields, or following their trades, without terror of an invasion here or a foray there.

Now, what does the British Government gain from these states in return for the benefits it confers? The total revenues received by the Princes are above TEN MILLIONS AND A HALF STERLING;† and the amount of tribute, subsidy, and all other payment which they make to us is just over one million;‡ besides which they are under obligation, in case of demand, to furnish contingents of troops, amounting in the aggregate to 32,000. Out of this million we are bound to maintain large bodies of subsidiary forces for their defence; and when this cost, with that of Residents and Political Agents, is met, “our political balance-sheet,” says Mr. Campbell, in his work on “Modern India and its Government,” “shows a result very much on the wrong side.”§ Indeed, Mr. Campbell looks on these States with rather a wishful eye; the ten millions of revenue (which he swells to thirteen) look tempting; and as for the smaller Princes, he makes no secret of his opinion, that they are too well off. Such a one, he says, “is more independent, and more absolute master of his territory, than Princes of greater dignity; and has, perhaps, a clear income of £50,000 or £100,000 *per*

* In figures, 398,918.

† Rupees, 106,980,681.

‡ Rupees, 10,654,891.

§ Mr. Campbell's statistics, which of late have been wonderfully useful to new scholars in the Indian school, are considerably at fault on the particulars just stated. He says, (second edition,) “From native states possessing a revenue of about £13,000,000, the British Government receives about £571,000 per annum; and has more or less the command, when occasion requires, of 22,000 contingent troops.” This, however, was written before the returns now printed had appeared.

annum, to do what he chooses with. It is an immense estate, with an unlimited heritable jurisdiction. This is the only class of rulers in India who now-a-days make money; they often amass large sums. It is very pleasant for them, but a pity that they do not contribute something toward our expenses."

In looking at the British power as it has affected the Princes of India, we are far from forgetting the faults, ay, the crimes, which lie at our door. Individual cases of great hardship may be cited; shameful acts have been done by some of our greatest men. Even the vile and ferocious Surajah Dowlah, the first ruler whom we struck down, was not undone till Clive had formed a low conspiracy, bribed his subordinates, fabricated a counterfeit treaty, and even forged the name of a colleague too honest to sign a false document. Nor have apologists been wanting to justify even such villany, as practised against the author of the *Black-Hole* massacre. Other cases of harshness, and even unfairness, from the Rohillas down to that of the Rajah of Coorg, could easily be named; but while applauding every man who exposes real wrong done by a great power to any Prince, however obscure; while asserting that to apologize for, and explain away, such conduct in books, is to plant and water the seed of crimes;—we cannot, just now, turn aside from our general view of the greatest political revolution which modern Asia has known, to handle the merits of any individual case; nor can we ever, in our honest detestation of particular cruelties or frauds, sympathize with the rage which calls every offence by the most sonorous epithets of crime, and heaps odium on a whole career, because of some false steps. Take the cases which have made most noise, whether in the majestic denunciations of Sheridan and Burke, or in the outcry of recent years; count their number, and carefully note the items of crime alleged with show of reason. Then turn to the two native powers of more recent origin than our own,—Hydur, a Mohammedan, in the south; Runjeet Sing, a Hindu, in the north; and had you only a man or two with the ideas of justice, which Christianity happily teaches, and with a good will to trace out and denounce every lie, fraud, violence, conspiracy, murder, which took place at the courts and by authority of those two powers, he could prepare an oration the horrors of which could hardly be borne by the most depraved audience we could assemble. We have no hesitation in saying, that any ordinary day of Hydur's reign would furnish more material for such denunciation, than can be raked together against all the Governors we have sent to India: that in the short lapse of time between the death of Runjeet Sing and Lord Gough's victory of Sobraon, more crimes were committed at the one court of Lahore, than in the whole history of our Presidencies.

It would be possible to excite far more attention to the case of the fallen Princes, than to that of the great mass of the

Hindus; but the question as to how our ascendancy has affected the former, is next to nothing in real importance, compared with that, as to how it has affected the tens and tens of millions over whom it now extends. At the outset of this inquiry, we must plainly say, that a disgrace too deep to be patiently looked at attaches to our Government, from the fact, that such is the present condition of Bengal,—our first, our richest, and our metropolitan province,—that men of candour and sense can raise a doubt as to whether or not the material condition and the moral character of the people have not deteriorated in our hands. A thousand speeches and pamphlets, from men whose ideas are, happily, so English that every thing which does not square with our home condition is to them startling, make precisely no impression on those whose business it has been for years to study India in all its aspects. But, apart from such authorities; apart from the queer reasoning of a man even with the opportunities of Mr. Sullivan,* who, because Clive found heaps of money in the treasury of the Soubahdar, argues that the mass of the people were in a state of the highest prosperity; and apart from all doubtful authorities; the whole tenor of trustworthy information, and, indeed, of the evidence taken from the most favourable lips in both Houses, is to the effect that Bengal is in a state of misery, insecurity, and demoralization, which are enough to dishonour the name of any power which has been for nearly a century its master. The evidence of Mr. Marshman, calm and competent as he is, and that of Dr. Duff, suffice to make a case, in view of which, our boasting of British rule in the East must be much qualified. Yet even of Bengal, confessedly the worst spot in our dominions, we are not persuaded that, had we the testimony of equally observant and benevolent men, as to the fifty years preceding the battle of Plassey, its condition would not present as many shades as now, without some fair and hopeful lights, which, after all, the present picture shows. But, our point is, that the bare possibility of any candid man doubting whether we have further depressed the condition of the people, is a stain which every Indian Statesman ought to feel, and bestir himself to wipe away.

The first point in judging whether we have served or injured the people of India, is to form a correct notion of their state before our ascendancy began. Mr. Sullivan has a most happy mode of finding conclusions. As to the well-being of the people in Bengal, we have shown how easily he proves it; and so, as to the universal comfort of India up to the English occupation, he says,—Mr. Elphinstone states that the country was in a condition of high prosperity, and therefore, of course, it was so; and, moreover, in proof of the opinion that the natives of certain provinces would be happy to exchange our rule for that of native

* See Parliamentary Papers, Commons' Report on Indian Territories.

Princes, he weightily observes, "If I were in their place, I should desire it; and therefore I conclude that they have the same opinions."* We confess that we have not found so short a road to a satisfactory judgment as the benevolent ex-Member of Council, and therefore must travel a little farther.

The reign of Akbar is universally pointed to as the epoch when India enjoyed the best Government within the records of history. It was just after his death, in the reign of his son, that our factors established themselves at Surat. The condition of the country could not have greatly deteriorated in so short time; and some idea of what it was may be formed from the narrative of a journey made by Withington, one of the factors, from Ahmedabad to the Indus and back, five years after the close of the model reign. That part of the country is naturally wild; but so many crimes, in so short a story, do create a feeling, that we would rather travel in the same region now. The account is given by the father and founder of our Indian history, Orme.†

Withington started with a caravan in December; and on the third night they were attacked by robbers. The next day they met a Mogul officer carrying two hundred and fifty *heads*, taken from men of a robber tribe, for whose extermination the Emperor's orders had been issued. For six days they marched through a desert, and here appear to have been unmolested. No sooner had they arrived "on the skirts of the better country," than they fell in with a caravan which had been robbed. For eight days more of desert march they were safe. Then they hired an escort, which saved them from an attack the very next day. On the morrow, they had twice to buy off bands of robbers. They next reached the residence of a Rajpoot Chief, who had been a prisoner in the hands of the Moguls, and had the usual pension given by that munificent Government to conquered Princes,—namely, his eyes put out. His son engaged to escort the travellers for thirty miles; led them into a wood; seized the camels and goods; strangled the Hindu merchants and their servants; bound Withington and his servants, and marched them forty miles to a mountain-hold, where they kept them for three weeks. When released, they were again robbed of their clothes, and then had to live for some time by begging, "and by the sale of Withington's horse, which the thieves did not think worth taking." They were relieved by a kind native, whom Withington had before known; and, finally, he reached Ahmedabad, "after a distressful absence of one hundred and eleven days."

While Orme resided in Calcutta, before Surajah Dowlah came to the throne, and, consequently, before the English had the

* Commons' Third Report, p. 19.

† "Origin of the English Establishment and of the Company's Trade at Broach and Surat," p. 334.

remotest prospect of being rulers of Bengal, he wrote a treatise, called "*A General Idea of the People and Government of Indostan*," only part of which was published during his life, and which, as printed in full, bears date exactly one century before the day that our Review is to come into the world, namely, "September 1st, 1753." In the statements there made he could have no temptation to flatter our system by showing the vices of the former. Now, what are the glimpses of the state of India there given? After stating, that as soon as a man was known to possess property, if he did not constantly bribe the officials, he would be trapped into law somehow, and forced to disgorge or be ruined; he gives instances:—

"A very wealthy house of Gentoo bankers were admonished, at Mexadavad, of the Nabob's necessities for money; and, better versed in the art of amassing money than in the methods necessary to preserve their riches, they presented a sum much more agreeable to their own avarice than to the expectations of their persecutors. None of the usual snares were likely to succeed with people of their excessive caution. One of the dead bodies, which are continually floating upon the river Ganges, happened to be thrown ashore under the wall of their dwelling-house, which was immediately surrounded by the officers of the civil Magistrate, and nothing heard but execrations against these devoted criminals, who were proclaimed the murderers of a son of Mahomed. The chief of the house was hurried away to a dungeon prepared for his reception; where, after having thrice endured the scourge, he compromised the price of his liberty, and the remission of his pretended crime, for the sum of 50,000 rupees. This man I personally knew.

"Warned by such examples, the more intelligent man of condition sees at once the necessity of ingratiating himself into the favour of his prince, by making acceptable offerings, proportioned to his fortune. It would not be credited, that the family of Tutichund, shortly after his death, gave, in one present, to the Nabob of Bengal, the sum of £300,000 sterling! were it not known that this man, by having managed the mint and treasury of the province for forty years successively, was become the richest private subject in the empire."—P. 449.

This may explain how we could not, with Mr. Sullivan, take the existence of piles of silver, crowned with jewels, in the Nabob's treasury, as a proof that his people were in comfort. Take what Mr. Orme calls—

"A GENERAL IDEA OF THE OPPRESSION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

"IMITATION has conveyed the unhappy system of oppression, which prevails in the Government of Indostan, throughout all ranks of the people, from the highest even to the lowest subject of the Empire. Every head of a village calls his habitation the Durbar, and plunders of their meal and roots the wretches of his precinct; from him the Zemindar extorts the small pittance of silver, which his penurious tyranny has scraped together; the Phousdar seizes upon the greatest share of the Zemindar's collections, and then secures the favour of his Nabob by voluntary contributions, which leave him not possessed of

the half of his rapines and exactions. The Nabob fixes his rapacious eye on every portion of wealth which appears in his province, and never fails to carry off part of it. By large deductions from these acquisitions, he purchases security from his superiors, or maintains it against them at the expense of a war.

"Subject to such oppressions, property in Indostan is seldom seen to descend to the third generation."—P. 450.

Here is a testimony as to the condition of the working-classes :—

"The mechanic or artificer will work only to the measure of his necessities. He dreads to be distinguished. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft, that will be taken from him. If conspicuous for the excellence of his skill, he is seized upon by some person in authority, and obliged to work for him night and day, on much harder terms than his usual labour acquired when at liberty.

"Hence all emulation is destroyed ; and all the luxury of an Asiatic Empire has not been able to counteract, by its propensity to magnificence and splendour, the dispiriting effects of that fear which reigns throughout, and without which a despotic power would reign no more."—P. 405.

And here, incidental evidence of the condition of the country, in remarks introductory to a chapter on population :—

"Where the human race is struggling through such mighty ills as render its condition scarcely superior to that of the brutes of the field, shall we not expect to find throughout Indostan dreary plains, lands uncultivated, miserable villages, thinly interspersed, desolated towns, and the number of inhabitants as much diminished as their miseries appear multiplied ?"—P. 407.

We cannot take leave of this intelligent observer of Bengal a hundred years ago, without quoting the reflections with which the condition of that country inspired him :—†

* Orme holds that *Hindu* princes rule even more cruelly than Mohammedans, and says the Hindus confessed it to him. His account of the ordinary Hindu king is as follows, accompanied with a curious illustration :—

"Avarice is his predominant passion ; and all the wiles, address, cunning, and perseverance, of which he is so exquisite a master, are exerted to the utmost in fulfilling the dictates of this vice ; and his religion, instead of inspiring, frees him from, the remorse of his crimes ; for, whilst he is harassing and plundering his people by the most cruel oppressions, he is making peace with his gods by denying nothing to their priests.

"The present King of Travancore" [Orme was born in Travancore, where his father was serving as a surgeon] "has conquered, or carried war into, all the countries which lay round his dominions, and lives in the continual exercise of his arms. To atone for the blood which he has spilt, the Brahmins persuaded him that it was necessary he should be born anew. This ceremony consisted in putting the Prince into the body of a golden cow, of immense value, where after he had lain the time prescribed, he came out regenerated, and freed from all the crimes of his former life. The cow was afterwards cut up, and divided amongst the seers, who had invented this extraordinary method for the remission of his sins."—P. 435.

† "La politique des Empereurs, ainsi que celle des Soubas, et des Nababs Mogol, depuis qu'ils se sont rendus indépendants des Empereurs, paraît consister en une perpétuelle attention à empêcher que quelque famille n'obtienne de grandes possessions, ou n'accu-

mule
grape
la So

"Having brought to a conclusion this essay on the Government and people of Indostan, I cannot refrain from making the reflections which so obviously arise from the subject.

"Christianity vindicates all its glories, all its honour, and all its reverence, when we behold the most horrid impieties avowed amongst the nations on whom its influence does not shine, as actions necessary in the common conduct of life ; I mean poisonings, treachery, and assassinations, in the sons of ambition ; rapines, cruelty, and extortions, in the ministers of justice.

"I leave divines to vindicate, by more sanctified reflections, the cause of their religion and their God.

"The sons of liberty may here behold the mighty ills to which the slaves of a despotic power must be subject ; the spirit darkened and depressed by ignorance and fear ; the body tortured and tormented by punishments, inflicted without justice and without measure. Such a contrast to the blessings of liberty heightens at once the sense of our happiness, and our zeal for the preservation of it."—P. 454.

We shall not trouble our readers with more recent or more ancient authorities, but give a summary of the condition of the country before it fell into English hands, and challenge disproof. The property of no man was secure from the arbitrary plunder of those in power. To become rich was to provoke ruin ; to become eminent in handicraft was to forfeit the liberty to dispose of your own labour. The police of the country were generally robbers ; most of the petty princes were in league with bands of robbers, and permitted them to plunder on condition of gaining a share ; no man dare live in a lonely house ; no village dare leave itself unfortified ; families were liable to have their beautiful female members carried off to the hareem of Princes or their officers ; no suitor had any confidence in his Judge, unless on the ground that he had bribed higher than his opponent ; no Judge believed the witnesses, or decided by evidence ; no public servant was secure of office for a day, (unless he was too powerful for his master,) or of life, if he fell into disgrace ; no Prince had confidence in the integrity of his servants ; no court was free from treasons, plots, murders, wherein servants, sons, brothers, equally joined ; no territory was safe from alarms of ravaging armies,—few from actual inroads ; most horrible cruelties were practised by conquerors, from bandit leaders up to great generals. Marauding bands had swollen into marauding nations. All men in power, feeling the uncertainty of their tenure, scraped together immense wealth, and left the people scarcely anything, and no security for even that. Widows were burned ; in many provinces infants were murdered ; old, sick persons were hurried to death. In the hill tribes human sacrifices were offered, with ferocious rites ; and, in all countries, voluntary immolations

mule des richesses, qui leur deviendraient peut-être funestes."—*Essai Historique, Géographique, et Politique, sur l'Indoustan, par M. Legoux de Flair, Officier de Génie, de la Société Asiatique de Calcutta.* Paris, 1807.

were numerous. No man could change his religion without civil or personal punishment, unless it was in a Mohammedan state,—to become a Mohammedan. Men were mutilated in limbs, noses, eyes, and other members, by command of Magistrates. Hindus were ruled by Mohammedan law. Every man's life was at the will of any petty Chief,—a will which, too often, was swift to shed blood; and several millions of outcastes were held in a condition, not of slavery, but of hereditary exclusion from education, handicraft,* trade, office, intercourse with their neighbours, and every human right, compared with which, personal slavery, with the possibility of redemption, or of children being redeemed, is as preferable as a wound in a limb is to palsy. On the other hand, each native of caste had the chance of rising to civil or military distinction, of taking share in the government, or, perchance, becoming a King; and, as the seat of government was on the soil, the revenues were expended at home, except, indeed, when some Mussulman Captain fell upon his brethren in the north, and swept from their lap the wealth of the Hindus; as in the case of Nadir Shah, who is believed to have carried away THIRTY-TWO MILLIONS STERLING.

At this moment, under British rule, the following may be given as the condition of the same people:—Every man's life is as secure from arbitrary authority as in England: every man's property is secure, except in some districts of Bengal, where the Government has hitherto failed to put down gang-robbery: in the settled provinces any British subject, even a pauper, who conceives himself to be wronged by authority, can sue the Company in its own courts; and five hundred such cases do occur in a year, often with gain to the subject: every man may take his labour to the best market, may multiply his wealth indefinitely without fear: villages are built without walls; walled villages permit their walls to crumble: no marauding Chief can stir: no internal war is heard of: the Thugs are broken up: if under-servants of the Government, according to traditional usage, plunder under guise of Police, they have but to be detected to be disgraced: the upper courts are pure: codes are published which must bind the highest authorities in the land: public servants are as secure of office and life as at home; only crime can harm them: conquered Princes are pensioned: every one may profess what religion he will, without civil penalty: no widows are burned: as far as noble efforts and much vigilance can prevent, infants are saved: no slave exists: the millions of outcastes have encouragement to raise themselves in domestic service, in the army, or in any office for which they may qualify themselves by education and character: the press is completely free: the people may meet, discuss, and petition: no new law is put in force till it has been two months, at least, before the

* Except working in leather, which is considered an unclean occupation.

public, open to the criticisms and remonstrances of all, which often produce modifications, sometimes withdrawal: and, in a word, the Coolie of Calcutta has political rights which are denied to the *savant* of Paris, and freedoms which no subject of the great Continental monarchies can claim,—freedom of person, without espionage, passport, or other check; freedom of conscience; freedom of association; freedom of the press; freedom of labour; and, with one or two “base exceptions” by Government monopoly, freedom of commerce.*

Against this is to be set the fact, that the native cannot rise to the head of affairs, cannot even gain a position of *great* distinction and emolument; and that, in military service, his highest prospects are limited to really a subordinate sphere. Reserving, for the present, our views as to this policy, we would observe, that though military and political eminence, which can only be the lot of a few in any country, are put out of their reach, industrial, artistic, and commercial eminence, to which multitudes may aspire, are now laid open as they never were before. If it is not possible for twenty men to amass enormous wealth by the plunder of millions, it is possible for a thousand to amass, by means that will benefit all, as much as they may, without fear of being plundered. The same power which limits the range of political and military ambition, opens a boundless horizon to peaceable advancement.

Again: the ruling nation, having its home abroad, drains heavily every year from Hindustan. This is a decided financial loss to that country, and a clear financial gain to this; serving virtually as a tribute, although not one penny does any Hindu state or individual give to our imperial revenue. Their money is brought here to pay the interest on India stock, and the Home Establishment of the Company; as also in the private fortunes or pensions of Englishmen, earned during service in the country. In good government, and in the play of British enterprise, this amount, and more, could be made up to them, were our measures all they ought to be; and, even as it is, perhaps something is done towards balancing the account: at all events, we protect them from such visitors as Nadir Shah, whose booty would balance our drain for some years. But, when we lead them off to Afghanistan, or Burmah, to squander their money, and spill their blood, we ought to be prepared with rare benefits in order to recruit their means, and compose our own conscience.

Another serious deduction from the glory of our reign is the charge, that, in extensive tracts of the country, and in two oppo-

* Even Mr. Sullivan says that the native “has protection from all those frightful invasions and convulsions which are so frequent under native dynasties, and from all the caprices of despotism; that he has the most complete personal liberty: . . . he has an amount of political liberty which subjects of very few countries on the Continent have: he may print what he pleases, and discuss with perfect freedom all political subjects.”—*Evidence before the Commons.*

site forms, we have broken down the ancient rights of the peasantry, and thereby greatly damaged their interests. In Bengal an attempt was made to preserve a native aristocracy, the members of which should be individually responsible to the Government for the land-tax of their own districts, and should raise from the cultivators a rent sufficient to reimburse themselves, and leave a gentlemanly surplus. In the Madras Presidency was adopted the system of dealing directly with each holder, having no middle-men between him and the Government. Neither of these was the ancient Hindu mode. From time immemorial their villages have been corporations, with as regular a form of administration and staff of officers as any city. This corporation was recognised by the Governments, often as they changed; it paid the taxes, (which consisted in a part of the produce,) and each individual holder paid his share to the common fund, according to arrangements made by themselves. Thus there was no middle-man to be kept, and yet the cultivator was not left alone to contend with petty officials. The Bengal system (Zemindary) fastened a brood of middle-men on the peasantry; and if no people has yet been found with virtue to make good middle-men, what should Bengalee middle-men be? The Madras system, (Ryotwar,) while aiming to bring the peasant into direct connexion with the English officer, and thereby protect him, yet, partly from over zeal and misconceptions on the part of those officers, partly from the impossibility of doing otherwise than leave the detail in the hands of native underlings, has worked ill, and left, if not made, the people miserably poor. The Bengal system is bad, and, judged by every tendency of the Hindu, without a chance of working well: the Madras is not bad in principle, and would be welcome to great multitudes of the people, if you could always get a Sir Thomas Munro to work it. Both schemes were introduced from the finest motives; and on abstract principles more, perhaps, could be said for either of them, and predicted from them, than from the village system: but Hindu institutions fit Hindu morals; and, therefore, though the last-named system has always seemed to us liable to objections, which, at the moment we are writing this page, we find expressed by Mr. H. St. George Tucker, in the selection from his writings just issued by Mr. Kaye; though it leaves no hope of a rising middle class, and stereotypes every thing; yet it seems, especially in the able hands of Mr. Thomason, to offer hopes of comfort for the people; while, of the two English systems, one is covered with opprobrium, and the other breaks down. Yet we cannot but remember, that when Sir Thomas Munro was doing for the Ceded Districts what Mr. Thomason is doing for the North-West Provinces, his system was in high favour; and that, in his hands, it, too, even on Mr. Campbell's showing, "worked wonderfully well." But the fact, that neither of the plans introduced by us has elevated the condition of our

subjects, is a proof of the difficulty of adjusting English notions to the state of the Hindus.*

But, though our rule has not benefited the mass of the people as it might have done; though it shuts out natives from high offices, and annually removes part of the nation's wealth to a distant land; though its progress has been dishonoured by crimes against princes, against the people, and against the religion we profess; though great evils now exist, and bad practices are followed by our Government, we are bound to say that, calmly reviewing the history of the last century, we can point to no such progress in any old country as that which has been witnessed in Hindustan. Where else have a hundred millions of people, who never before knew what was meant by security of life and property, realized those inestimable blessings? Where else have that number acquired a right to discuss the acts of their Government in speech and print, to criticize projected laws, and even to prosecute for civil grievances the agents of supreme power? Where else have the Heathen or Mussulman lords of fifty millions of subjects, the Heathen and Mussulman leaders of four hundred thousand troops, been brought to live side by side in peace? Where else has such a territory been swept clean of all shape of slavery? Where else, ten or twenty millions of wretches—whose fathers had been wretches from time unwritten, and whose children were to be wretches till time should end—been told that letters, liberties, and hopes were open to them as to others? Where else has such a saving of human life been effected, as by the cessation of widow-burning, the diminution of infanticide, the dispersion of the Thugs, the general, though not yet universal, suppression of gang-robbery, and the complete check to all Mahratta and Pindaree marauding? Where so many poor creatures saved from mutilation as by substituting, in this vast territory, a mild criminal code for the caprice of any petty despot? These questions must not be answered, one way or the other, by impulse or imagination. There lies the wide world before you,—there the history of its last hundred years: point, then, to the place where, within that time, so many disorders have been stayed, so many families enabled to lay them down at night in peace, so many lives redeemed from destruction, and so many hopes of peace and progress opened before a family of nations? Point out the spot in Asia, or in any Heathen or Mohammedan part of the world, where political changes have effected aught comparable on ever so small a scale.

If there be a truth in existence, this is one,—**THERE IS A GOVERNMENT ABOVE US.** Whatever class of men may practically forget that we are under a Supreme Ruler, Statesmen—from

* Both the English systems trust to individual character,—the Bengal to the virtue of the Zemindar, the Madras to the industry of the Ryot and the virtue of the collecting officer. The village system trusts nothing merely to individual honesty.

their knowledge of the impossibility that even the smallest community could exist without government—ought to be incapable of feeling as if the universe were an anarchy. As surely as there are Kings of men, is there a King of Kings; and no man who is not prepared to believe that His government is bad, can imagine that it is heedless. Though so much of what He permits upon earth is punitive, the ultimate purpose of mercy is ever beaming through the clouds, and that the more as the world grows older. When such a spectacle occurs as one hundred and fifty millions of human beings, passing from the care of native rulers, under that of a strange nation, separated from them by weary months of sea-passage, who appeared on their shores only as wayfarers and traders, what idea must he have of our race, who can behold it without being convinced that the Ruler of all is directing some great movement in the destinies of mankind? Did such a prodigious event happen unheeded in the heavens, then might we abandon all hope of our species, as if no benevolent Power deemed them worthy of care. No; that British sceptre which now waves over one hundred and sixty millions of Asiatics, derived not the power before which all opposition vanished from the listlessness of chance, but from a mission of Providence. And was its mission one of judgment or of mercy? Surely, none will hesitate to take the latter view. Its effects, as already ascertained, indicate this; and every man who knows Asia must feel that, with all the faults of our rule, were India to relapse to-morrow into native hands, the tide of enlightenment, which just begins to set in, would at once be rolled back, and the Christianizing and civilizing of Asia be wofully delayed.

As this is the commencement of "*Asiatic Researches*" in these pages, and as it has at last become necessary for every one to have some knowledge of India, we will, as briefly as we can, give a view of how our wonderful Empire rose, and what it actually is.

The fruitful sixteenth century had reached its very last day, when Queen Elizabeth, then old and waning, signed a charter empowering certain "*Merchant Adventurers*," who had met and subscribed at the house of one Alderman Goddard, to trade to the East. One hundred and fifty years passed away, and many ships had come and gone; the little island of Bombay, on the coast of India, had been given to us by the King of Portugal as a dowry with his daughter, who married Charles II.; we had a factory and a rising city at Calcutta, and another at Madras, which had just been restored to us by the French, after having been for three years in their hands; and, besides, we had some factories and little forts in other places. This was all the hold we had taken of India in that long period; nor did we dream of more than increasing our trade.

The French love to speak of themselves as the origin of all great movements; and, in truth, they may say that they led

us the first steps towards our Indian Empire. Dupleix, at the head of the little settlement of Pondicherry, conceived the grand idea of founding a European ascendancy amid the ruins of the Mogul Empire. With genius and resources of the highest order, with bad faith of the lowest, he aimed at the extirpation of the English, who, he knew, would not befriend his ambition; and, at the same time, trained native troops in European discipline, and connected himself with the agitated politics of the country. As if we were to be taught that the wonderful successes which were coming, had a higher cause than English wisdom or valour, all our proceedings, for a series of years, were paltry, blundering, and disastrous. Madras was captured; our fleet at sea ran away; our authorities were marched bare-headed through Pondicherry; Dupleix was courted by two pretenders, one to the power of the Nizam, the other to the subordinate, but more contiguous, Government of Arcot; he intrigued for them, fought for them, and conquered: in return it is said that two hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels, were given to him; he was declared Governor of a country with thirty millions of people; he built a column on the site of his triumph, and a town rose up, called the City of Dupleix's Victory. The English adhered to the heir of the old Nabob, and fought in his support; but worse fighting or worse tactics were never known. At length all the country, except Trichinopoly, was lost to our ally; and though the Madras Government, trembling for its own existence, sent all the troops it could to his aid, matters were approaching the extremity. Chunda Saheb, Dupleix's Nabob, leaving Arcot garrisoned by eleven hundred men, marched to complete his victory. To avert the final blow, Capt. Gingen, with 1000 sepoy, 100 Africans, (called Caffres by Orme,) and 600 English, marched to intercept him, accompanied by a large army under Abdul Khan, the brother of the English Nabob. When the action had scarcely begun, the English ran away: Clive was there, but even he could not give them heart. "Abdul Khan," says Orme, "rode up, and upbraided them in the strongest terms for their cowardice, bidding them take example from his own troops, who still stood their ground: and to compleat the shame of this day, the company of Caffres remained likewise on the field for some time, and then marched off in good order, bringing away the dead and wounded."* It was well that before such signal honour was put upon the British arms, we should be taught how low we could fall when Providence permitted.

Clive was now in his twenty-sixth year, and a commissary, having abandoned his proper post as "a writer," for one that led him into the field. In the dearth of officers, he was made

* "Military Transactions," vol. i., p. 174.

a Captain. Seeing ruin close upon the English, he conceived the daring project of attacking Arcot, in hope of drawing off the enemy from before Trichinopoly. By that strange power over others which the instruments of revolutions acquire so soon as the time of their success sets in, he brought the Council to his views. They gave him all the men they had to give, 200 English, and 300 sepoys. They had eight officers; "six of whom had never before been in action, and four of these six were young men in the mercantile service of the Company."* As they approached Arcot, a "violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain" broke over them; and those who know what that means in the tropics, will feel that, when they marched on "with unconcern," they were indeed resolute. Just then, "the enemy's spies" saw the column, and, astonished at their coolness, hastened to report to the garrison. Awe fell upon them; they thought it was an omen of success from heaven; and, when Clive approached the city, he found—instead of eleven hundred men, strong in the remembrance of many victories—an open gate, and a hundred thousand townsfolk staring to see the fated victor take unchallenged possession of a fort which the garrison had abandoned, as they believed, at a summons from the sky! That was England's first triumph in India,—the foundation-stone of the gigantic power which now overshadows Hindustan; and that triumph was given to us, without a stroke of man's hand, by the instrumentality of a thunder-storm and an uncontrollable fear. The last defeat, so shameful as to our courage,—the first victory, so independent of our prowess,—unite to call our thoughts upward to a Hand which ruled the sky, and was mightier than the hearts of men. The first act of an English victor in Hindustan was one of happy omen: the natives had, for security, placed property to the value of £50,000 in the fort: this would have been desirable booty for such a rabble army as Clive's, but he restored it to its owners; thereby gaining in name more than any amount of treasure.†

Once in possession, he sallied out, "and beat up" the camp of the former garrison, sustained a siege of fifty days, and, when, at the end, a tremendous assault was delivered by ten thousand men, he, with only eighty English, and one hundred and twenty sepoys, drove them triumphantly from the ruinous walls. The Mahrattas were hovering in the neighbourhood, under engagement to join Clive, but waiting to see who was strongest, and diligently plundering in the mean time. Now, their chief, declaring that he never before thought that the

* Orme.

† It is singular that a writer so picturesque as Macanlay should, in his exquisite narrative of these events, altogether omit the two facts, that the thunder-storm (to which he alludes) was the cause of the panic under which the garrison evacuated the fort, and that Clive respected private property; the two facts of most moral significance in the whole series.

English could fight, willingly acted with such a soldier as Clive. Though all that was not under his own eye was feebly conducted, wherever he appeared, victory followed victory. The French became as much accustomed to defeat as the English had been: the monument of Duplex, and the adjoining city, were razed to the ground, and Clive returned to England, leaving his countrymen a great military name in South India, with their Nabob in power, and a secure tenure of their trading establishments, but yet without any territorial possession of the country.

In the year 1756 occurred an event which filled England with horror, but led immediately to a change of our position in India from that of traders to that of political arbiters, and, eventually, of universal Sovereigns. On the shores of the fertile Bengal we had a flourishing trade, concentrated in the town of Calcutta; but here, as yet, no French rivals had compelled our factors to learn the art of war. The government of Bengal had lately passed into the hands of a weak, besotted, and cruel youth, who hated the English; and, as they were fortifying their settlement, for fear of the French, without having obtained his special leave, and were, moreover, bold enough to refuse him when he demanded that a rich merchant whom he wanted to plunder, and who had fled to Calcutta, should be delivered up, he marched to plunder them. The Governor, in a fright, escaped to the ships in the river, the military Commandant did the same, and many followed these high examples: a few remained; but their fort was soon taken. The booty disappointed the victor; and that night ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIX PERSONS were forced, by the sword, into a *Black-Hole*, "not twenty feet square." After a night of horrors never to be conceived, only twenty-three Englishmen were living in Bengal, and they "the ghastliest forms that ever were seen alive." Their cowardly companions, who had saved themselves by the ships, were struck with remorse when a few of these wasted figures contrived to reach them, and, by their appearance and their tale, revealed what had befallen those who were so shamefully forsaken.*

When the news reached Madras, Robert Orme, the future historian, who had before spent nine years in Calcutta, was a Member of the Council. Amid the perplexity of opinions, he steadily insisted on sending a large force. This was resolved upon; but who should command it? Mr. Pigot, the Governor, wished to go; but he was no soldier. Colonel Aldercorn, who had arrived at the head of a King's regiment, claimed the command; but he had no knowledge of Indian war. The brave and generous Lawrence, the only regular officer who had yet won a single

* They "had made no efforts to facilitate the escape of the rest of the garrison: never, perhaps, was such an opportunity of performing a heroic action so ignominiously neglected; for a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon."—*Mil. Trans.*, vol. ii.

laurel, and who would else, doubtless, have been appointed, was asthmatical. Orme named Clive, who had just returned from England, and, after much difficulty, carried his point.

In the month of December, 1756, the English squadron entered the Hoogly. Calcutta was soon re-taken, and other blows struck, with the speed and power habitual to Clive. Then arose, in the mind of the young avenger, the daring thought of deposing the ruler of Bengal, and setting up, over its thirty millions, a creature of his own. With craft equal to his daring, and with dissimulation that outdid even Bengalees, he wove a conspiracy around the throne of Surajah Dowlah; and then, with 3,000 men, of whom only 900 were English, marched to attack his grand army of 58,000. The battle was fought on the field of Plassey, and lasted from eight in the morning till about five. The Nabob fought languidly; and, when he saw himself betrayed on the field by one conspirator, he acted upon the counsel of another, and took to flight. Just then Clive's little force was advancing to deliver the first charge, in the European style, ever sustained in the open field, in Bengal. The vast army, cowed equally by the flight of their Chief, and the daring front of their strange foe, broke into a complete rout; and the victors "entered their camp without other obstacle than what they met from tents, artillery, baggage, and stores dispersed around them."

Meer Jaffair, Clive's fellow-conspirator, was raised to the throne. The fallen Prince fled from his capital in disguise, but was re-captured by the agents of Meer Jaffair, and miserably murdered in what had been his own palace. The new Nabob made restitution for English property which had been destroyed, with a donation to the army, the squadron, and the Committee who conducted the English affairs, amounting in all to TWO MILLION SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS, besides enormous secret sums. To the share of Clive fell two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds.

In a short time, the son of the Great Mogul, who, though a prisoner and blinded at Delhi, had still the name of royalty, advanced at the head of a heterogeneous force of forty thousand men, whom the hope of booty, and the influence of his ancestral name, had gathered to his standard. His aim was to overturn the creature of the English, and erect his own power in the rich dominion of Bengal. He invested the city of Patna; but Clive and his Englishmen marched in support of their ally; and their name had suddenly become so terrible, that no sooner did the vanguard appear, than the army of Shah Alum began to disperse, and never risked a battle. The man who so lately had been a mercantile clerk returned triumphant over the heir of the Great Mogul; and Meer Jaffair, transported with gratitude, gave him an estate worth thirty thousand a year.

In a few years the English deposed Meer Jaffair, and set up his son-in-law, and, soon quarrelling with him, replaced Meer

Jaffier on the throne. But Cossim was not willing to forego his power, fought several unsuccessful battles, and, fleeing to the nominal Emperor, the same whose expedition, as heir, we have just related, enlisted his sympathies, and, what was of more substantial account, the active military support of the Nabob of Oude, in whose hands the Emperor then was. Thus the new power of England had to contend with the most formidable Mohammedan Prince then in India, besides Cossim, who had adopted European discipline for his troops, and the moral weight of the Emperor's name and presence, such as that was. Clive was in England; and, in his absence, the English, intoxicated by their position, had been forcing fortunes out of the unhappy natives by exactions so rapacious, that it is only wonderful they were not once more exterminated. But, degraded as their moral condition was, they maintained their military ascendancy. Sir Hector Munro met the army of the powerful allies at Buxar on the 15th of September, 1764, and, after three hours' hard fighting, drove them before him, till a river, the bridge over which they destroyed, cut off the pursuit. The next day the Emperor opened negotiations with the English, complained that he was the state-prisoner of the Oude Nabob, soon placed himself under the protection of the British camp; and thus this strange power, which only eight years before could be shut up in a Black-Hole, was at the head of Indian politics, able to dispose of the person of the great Mogul, and of a splendid part of his ancient Empire. At this juncture, Clive, with the title of Lord, the office of Governor, and the fullest powers, landed for the last time from England. He soon secured the Emperor's formal grant of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of an annual tribute of £260,000. This act gave the Company in form that which it had before in reality,—a place among the recognised potentates of the land,—and, in fact, linked it to the throne of the great Moguls, as one of the many nominal subordinates, but real masters, who used its *prestige* for their own interest.

In the same year (1765) the Nabob of Arcot gave the Company a grant of a district round Madras. Thus, at two points, they simultaneously acquired dominion from the only existing sources which could give a show of legitimacy. But they held not as Sovereigns, but, in name, as feudataries of the shadowy Mogul. For seven years the powers conveyed to us in Bengal were left in the hands of Meer Jaffier and his sons; and when, after the lapse of that time, the management of the country was undertaken by ourselves, the representative of that family, though it had been raised to power by us, received a pension of £160,000 *per annum*, which is paid to this day. This created a precedent, which, happily for our honour, has been followed ever since, and has given us a great moral superiority. Mr. Campbell, who loses no love on native Princes, but seems to have a high esteem

for rupees, chafes finely at these pensions. The following table from his work will give both information and amusement :—

Recipients.	Amount in Pounds Sterling.	Remarks.
King of Delhi (the Mogul)	150,000	The only pension for the amount of which there is reasonable ground.
Nawab of Bengal ...	160,000	An absurdly large pension to the descendant of Meer Jaffier, a temporary Governor created by us.
Nawab of the Carnatic	116,540	The descendant of a Deputy-Governor established by us gets about four times as much as the Prince Consort of the United Kingdom.
Families of former Nawabs of the Carnatic	90,000	Should be paid by the Nawab.
Rajah of Tanjore.....	118,350	Allowance to the descendant of a petty military Chief.
Rajah of Benares.....	14,300	Allowance to a deposed Zemeendar.
Families of Hyder and Tipu	63,954	Allowance to the descendants of an upstart usurper, our bitterest enemy, who fought to the last, and with whom no terms were made.
Rajahs of Malabar ...	25,000	
Bajee Rao, deposed Peshwah	80,000	The Peshwah is lately dead. I do not know whether the pension is discontinued.
Others of the Peshwah's family ...	135,000	A great deal too much.
Various other Allowances	533,140	Includes a variety of small political stipends, pensions, and compensations.
Total *.....	1,486,284	

At this juncture, the government of our Indian possessions was regulated by Act of Parliament, and a Governor-General appointed in the person of Warren Hastings. Up to this time, no attempt had been made to bring the wide regions we owned under regular civil government; but the people had been left in the hands of the Mussulman authorities, the Company's servants heeding only trade and revenue. Hastings founded our civil empire in the East, as Clive had founded the military. For eleven years he reigned as Governor-General,—a reign memorable for great measures, great improvements, and great faults. It is now fashionable to cover the latter in the mantle

* This table of Mr. Campbell's, compared with the fact that we receive only a million in tribute, subsidy, &c., from the native States, shows that we pay more to deposed Princes than we receive from reigning ones.

of his glory; but, happily for the destinies of our Indian Empire, they were at the time viewed by some in England, not in that dim light which enabled many to behold, without disgust, Christian morals levelled in Bengal to heathen practice; and Burke's immortal thunders broke over the head of the offender, in peals which will echo as long as England has a literature, or Bengal a name. Too promiscuous, and in many points unjust, those grand fulminations often struck real offences both in the individual specially marked, and in the community of which he was at once the ablest member, and the one who had fewest vices and most redeeming qualities. They gave the East India Government a bad name, and taught people to rate it splendidly,—a lesson never yet unlearned. But if this has lowered the repute of the Company in England below its deserts, it has elevated their tone abroad; for few men have gone out, since that day, without resolving not to provoke such a scourging. And it may be fairly asked, if ever, in human history, so many men in succession held an office of powers equal to those of Hastings's successors in the vice-royalty of India, against whom so few crimes could be charged.

Our possessions in the East had now become of such consequence at home, that a statesman of rank, and a soldier of name,—Lord Cornwallis,—was sent to assume the chief government. Whatever had been Clive's faults in his first sudden access of power, he had, on his return from England, laid a masterful hand on the corruptions which else would have soon brought the Empire he had founded with shame to its grave. Warren Hastings, too, had done much to elevate the tone of the English officials; but Lord Cornwallis, raising their salaries to a scale fitted to the generous views of statesmanship, rather than the bargaining spirit of the counting-house, cut short all bye-practices, and stamped the service with that gentlemanly impress which it has ever since retained. He, assisted by Sir John Shore, (the first Lord Teignmouth,) published the code of regulations which fixed the proceedings in courts, and settled the lands in the hands of a landlord class. The former proceeding will ever be memorable in Asiatic history, as giving, for the first time, an Asiatic peasant the power to sue in open court the agent of Government who might wrong him; and the latter memorable, as founding a system which has worked disastrously, though, as an experiment, well worthy of being tried, but to which Lord Cornwallis too hastily pledged the faith of the Government for ever.

During the preceding reign, a man who could never write his name, had all but driven us from the south of India. Hydur Ali, rising from obscurity like a rocket, after crushing a group of little thrones, had once dictated peace at the gates of Madras, and died while fighting us, at least, on equal terms. His son Tipu, equally fierce, but less able, fell before Lord

Cornwallis, aided by the Nizam and the Mahrattas; and half of his dominions were divided among the victors. In a few years his total destruction proclaimed to the world the name of the two Wellesleys; the classic and statesmanly genius of the Governor-General being the morning star, beneath which arose the sun of his brother's glory. Instead of annexing all Tipu's territory, a little boy, the heir of the ancient Mysore Kings, found in obscurity, was raised to the throne, with dominions, perhaps, larger than his family had possessed before Hydur's usurpation. The same policy which had dictated to Lord Wellesley the conquest of Tipu, led him on. He was resolved to make England paramount; and was, perhaps, the only Governor-General who was warlike by choice. He made treaties to support troops for native Princes, they paying either by annual subsidy, or cession of territory; and thus he added large dominions from the Nizam, the Nabob of Oude, the Guickwar, (a Mahratta power in Guzerat,) and obtained subsidies from the Peshwah, the titular head of the Mahrattas; to which the real Chiefs of that nation, Scindiah, Holkar, and the Nagpore Rajah, objecting, war was declared, and their dominions royally cut up, to aggrandize ours. Yet they retained, and still retain, territories to which their grandfathers had no pretension. Lord Cornwallis, succeeding a second time to the government, carried out the pacific instructions which the home authorities continually issued, abridged our possessions, and permitted Runjeet Sing to extend his power. But in 1816 Lord Hastings was led into war with the Pindaree Chiefs, a horde of robbers, some degrees worse than the Mahrattas; and the Peshwah joining these, it became a second Mahratta war, which ended in large annexation of territory, in the deposition and pensioning of the Peshwah, who was the heir of a usurping Minister, and in finding out, somewhere, the heir of the old line, (that not very old,) and setting him on a little throne at Sattara. All this time had been kept up the farce of holding territory nominally under the Emperor, and coining money in his name; but now England was supreme in all India, except the Punjab and its adjuncts, and at last our sovereignty was asserted. It was but sixty-one years since the battle of Plassey, yet Hindustan was ours. When Mahmoud the Great undertook to conquer the Hindus, his hardy Affghans had fought eight campaigns, before he could firmly set up his throne. A century of Moslem rule, and one Moslem dynasty, (the Guznavide,) had passed away, before Bengal was conquered. Another dynasty (the first Gaurian) was gone, before the crescent ever approached the south (Deccan). Seven hundred years had the Mussulmans been in India, before, under Aurengzebe, they could command it all; and even then Hindu energy in the wild Mahratta form was springing up anew. All this time the races of the Mussulmans, as in their prosperity they degenerated, had been renewed by fresh incursions from hardier

climes. Each new race fought a battle or two with the old,—won them; and down went the previous power, as readily as a French throne, after a fight lost in Paris: and this facile change of hands among the Mussulmans has been generally confounded with a fresh conquest of the Hindus; whereas, in fact, they have known but the one continuous, though fluctuating, power of the Moslem, which slowly and with difficulty extinguished native dynasties. The Mohammedan conquest, begun by great armies, long used to conquer, and conducted from neighbouring countries, took seven centuries: the English, begun by a trading Company, and conducted from a country then six or nine months distant, and in spite of the most earnest instructions to every Governor to shun war and cultivate the revenue, took sixty years.* May not an Empire which rose so strangely, hope to fulfil a grand destiny in the hands of Providence? May we not humbly trust, that the great Ruler, pitying the plagues of Asia, has set up, in the centre of its commerce and politics, a power which, however faulty at first, tends to improve under the influence of Christianity, and will, eventually, give the nations of Hindustan repose which their fathers knew not, and the truth and righteousness without which no nation can long either flourish or repose?

Our territory is equal to all continental Europe, Russia excepted. Peshawur is as far north of Tanjore, as Stockholm is of Naples; Chittagong, as far east of Kurrachee, as Athens is of Paris. Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden, unitedly do not equal either our territory or our population. The Report of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey, which has lately been printed for Parliament, gives the total—

Area in square miles.....	1,368,113
Population.....	151,144,902

And a corrected copy, with which we have been favoured, adds seven millions and a half to this population; most of which is in our own territories, but part in the native States: making the total, 158,774,065. But the fact is, that even from our territories many of the returns are no better than guesses; and from the native States few are to be relied upon. It has, however, generally proved that accurate returns give a higher population than previous estimates; and after considerable attention to the subject for years, we should not be surprised to find the official statement gradually coming up from its present advanced figure, to nearly two hundred millions.

This splendid Empire is distributed into four Governments or Presidencies,—Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and Agra. The first is the seat of the Governor-General, and the Supreme Council; the next two have each a Governor and Council; and Agra is

* The Punjab conquest, the miserable Affghan and the Burmese wars, are too fresh in all memories to need to be recalled.

administered by a Lieutenant-Governor without a Council. The army is,—

Queen's troops	29,480
Company's European troops	19,928
Company's native troops	240,121
<hr/>	
Total.....	289,529
Native contingents, commanded by British officers, and available under treaties.....	32,000
<hr/>	

Total at the disposal of the Governor-General.. 321,529

This is a great army; yet its proportion to the extent of the Empire presents a forcible comment on the nature of British rule. Compare it with the proportion which the armies of the Continent bear to the population of the respective countries, and you might imagine that they were holding conquered nations, and we governing our hereditary soil. Forty-nine thousand out of the whole are Englishmen!—a less number than is generally found necessary to garrison the one city of Paris! Even the native Rajahs, with a population of 55,000,000, have 400,000 soldiers; while we, with double the population, have 110,000 less, though they are guaranteed against external war, and we have to take all risks. Then our 240,000 native troops are a strength or a weakness, just as our authority is popular or the reverse. Were their attachment lost, how formidable would they be, taught in our mode of war, and five times as numerous as the English soldiers! Were they and the troops of the Rajahs united against us, it would be 50,000 against 640,000. You may travel through India for days together without coming on a military station. You may pass through kingdoms, with three million or more inhabitants, containing only one post of European troops. You may find great cities without a soldier; the remains of vast fortifications, near which not a uniform is visible. Facts such as these, when contrasted with the constant display of military force in the countries even of civilized Europe, forcibly prove that the power of the English has foundations in the homes of the people, as well as in the cantonments of the soldiery.

In the native regiments, the officers are, as to numbers, about half native, half English; but no native officer can rise higher than to a sort of Captaincy or Majority, and even then is under the youngest European Ensign; a position much worse than that enjoyed by Hindus in the armies of the Mussulmans. Bengal, Madras, and Bombay have three distinct armies, and three Commanders-in-Chief.

Though the military history of this Empire has all the surprise of romance, and all the splendour of orientalism, its civil history bears far more closely on the question of its probable stability, and on the greater question of its title to be permanent. The objects of our original establishment were purely commercial; and the Presidents and Councils had only to manage invest-

ments, and keep little settlements in order. When troubles came upon them, self-preservation led them into such politics as helped to support a petty Nabob. When Bengal was at their feet, so little idea had they of government, that it was left to Mussulman authorities, as before, whom they forced to unheard-of oppressions, by extorting enormous sums to be shipped for England on private account. Beyond curbing this rapacity, and taxing salt to compensate the officials, in part, for what he forced them to abandon, Clive does not seem to have made a step towards a civil government. Warren Hastings divided the country into districts, in which criminal law was still administered by Mohammedan Judges according to their own code. In civil and fiscal matters, petty suits were settled by Zemindars, or Head-farmers; but over the whole district was placed a European functionary, who had control in all these departments. He also printed and promulgated, for the guidance of these officers, Regulations which bear witness to his desire to improve the country. In Calcutta he formed a Native Revenue Establishment and a Chief Native Criminal Court, he and his Council constituting, for the supreme direction, a Board of Revenue and a Head Court of Justice. Under all its masters the revenue of India had been chiefly paid from the land; and this important branch of government Hastings endeavoured to bring into order, but with little success; for then we scarcely knew any thing of the mysteries of native land-tenure. He re-established Clive's salt-tax, which had been abolished by the Government at home.

These arrangements were soon modified; but, when Lord Cornwallis entered on the government, he restored some of the original plans, and, as before observed, raised the regular salary and the moral tone of the civil servants. His famous Regulations, conferring some great civil boons, went, as to land, on the mistaken doctrine that the Government in India was owner of the soil, as well as lord of a royalty of its produce; and hence he handed over whole districts for ever to certain individuals, who should hold them as estates, and pay a certain revenue to Government under penalty of sale. Thus the real owner of the *soil*, the cultivator, was put under a Zemindar, or Tax-farmer, whom the well-meaning Governor-General figured, in his own idea, as developing into a patriotic and tenant-loving Squire; while the odium of setting up tax-gathering to sale was brought upon the Government. In carrying out his measures, natives ceased to hold any but very subordinate offices.

During the great extensions of territory in Lord Wellesley's day no great civil measures were passed; but, in the south, his brother, in managing some of the new countries, first displayed his ability for government; and Sir Thomas Munro laid the foundation of his popularity. Under him sprang up the Ryotwar system, formerly alluded to; and, happily, Lord Wellesley's wish to extend the Bengal land-system to the new provinces was not carried into effect.

For many years the civil Government remained much as Lord Cornwallis left it; and it was not till 1828, when Lord William Bentinck, who had learned much during a former residence, as Governor of Madras, was placed at the head of the Empire, that any decisive progress was effected. Under him disappeared the folly of using Persian as the government language; and English took its place. Many important changes regarding revenue were effected; all remnants of the old bad system of commissions and present-taking, on the part of public servants, were swept away; more attention was paid to efficiency, and less to seniority, in appointing to the chief places; the natives were admitted to much higher offices, as Judges and Deputy-Collectors; and considerable establishments were founded for their education.

Since then, the press has been made entirely free by Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe; slavery declared unlawful by Lord Ellenborough; all offices which natives may hold declared open to any one, of whatever class, whose education shall qualify him; and the deprivation of property, because of a change of religion, annulled by Lord Hardinge.

The course of our civil government has been one of improvement; and, though great errors have been committed, many elements of good government exist, and, on the whole, India is in the hands of a more moderate, intelligent, and upright set of administrators than ever ruled a conquered country in Asia before, or, *we* believe, any where else. Yet, before we quit this part of our subject, we hope to show that much remains to be done. As to the part which natives are permitted to take in the government of the country, it will at once appear that great masses of them are employed, when we state that the total number of the regular European (technically called "covenanted") civil servants of the Government is 808. These leave all the lower offices for natives; of these, many are of great power and importance; and, as Judges, at least seven natives sit for one Englishman. In fact, while we hear in Europe complaints that natives are not employed, we have often, in India, heard the peasantry complain bitterly that they were left so much at the mercy of "black men," who "eat them up;" whereas, if directly dealing with Englishmen, they would have fair play. All civil suits originate in the courts of native Judges; and the Principal Sudder Aumeens decide by far the greatest number of appeal cases finally. The number of natives in Government employment, at a salary of £24 and upwards, is:—

In Bengal	420
Agra	864
Madras	199
Bombay	594
Punjab	258 *

* See p. 36 of the papers named at the head of this Article, under the head "Native Agency."

Making TWO THOUSAND, THREE HUNDRED, and THIRTY-FIVE PERSONS, out of one hundred millions of subjects, whose share in the public service of their country is worth £24 a year, and upwards! Only about three times as many as are the Englishmen holding the noble salaries of the covenanted service! It is, however, to be remarked, that £24 to a Hindu is a far larger income than it would be in England: for a labouring man will live on three-halfpence a day; and we have known authors and scholars glad to earn £17 a year as *Moonshees*, and able to live well upon it.* But when fully aware of all this, the above fact is no less startling. ONE NATIVE in all India has attained, under British rule, the public income of FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY pounds per annum. In Bengal, another has £900. In Madras, the highest is £960; in Bombay, £600. For Madras and Bombay details are not given; by condensing those for Bengal and Agra, we have:—

	£.	£.
15 receiving each	720 to	780 <i>per annum.</i>
7 	600 to	720 ...
77 	480 to	600 ...
40 	360 to	480 ...
1,143 ...	24 to	360 ...

Mr. Campbell claims that the apparently large salaries of the civil service should be divided by three to reduce them to an English equivalent: and, considering, not so much the cost of living in the country, which is greatly under the control of fashion, as the risk of health, the expense of educating a family away in England, the outlay on voyages, and the almost universal necessity of retiring before old age from such a climate,—his claim is not very unfair. But be the proportion to home incomes what it may, we would not pay one European functionary a fraction less than he is paid. They deserve it all, if they do their duty; and not one of them but might fill his pockets by bribes, if he would only stoop to that shame. Yet the following scale is not like the last:—

	£.
Governor General	25,000 <i>per annum.</i>
Governors of Madras and Bombay	12,500 ...
Lieutenant-Governor of Agra	8,400 ...
Members of Supreme Council	10,000 ...
Do. Madras and Bombay	6,200 ...
Secretaries to Government, and other high officers,—as Residents, Members of Revenue Boards, &c.	5,200 ...
Commissioners in Provinces	3,500 ...
Judges	3,000 ...

* The wages paid to men employed on the mail-road is six shillings (three rupees) per month. The Directors would have us multiply £24 by seven, making it £168 in comparative English value; and they are not far wrong,—setting, as they do, six shillings per month, Indian standard wages, against ten shillings per week English.

	£.
Judges, Madras and Bombay.....	2,800 <i>per annum.</i>
Magistrate and Collector of Madras and Bombay	2,800 ...
Collectors, Bengal	2,300 ...
Assistants *	480 ...

Sir Charles Wood's Bill transfers the patronage of the service which possesses these splendid incomes from the family estate of the Court of Directors to the family estate of British talent; which, we thought, might feel desirous of knowing the exact value of its new property; and, therefore, we have given the list of prizes, for which henceforth the gifted son of any honest man may contend.†

As to the employment of natives, we do not so much quarrel with the highest salaries, as the lowest. All who are intrusted with power, either fiscal or judicial, should have salaries the loss of which would be serious, and should know that the least bribery involved dismissal FOR EVER. The Police especially are so paid in Bengal, as to make it manifest, that if the *Darogah* (Inspector) is to get any thing, he must get it by foul play. Such policy is as mischievous as it is mean. Then, we would certainly multiply the number of higher officers, so that not a solitary individual, but several, might rejoice in £1,500 a year. As to having a native Member or Members of Council, we cannot conceive the real objections to be better stated than by Mr. Marshman.‡ We agree with every word, almost, that he says, except his conclusion; for we think that the evils of exciting the jealousy of the natives against a native so elevated, are less than that of exciting it against us because we will not permit their elevation; and those arising from his relations and servants selling his supposed patronage and power, though great, are not to be compared with the moral effect of opening to the Hindus the highest stake in the Government.

Another department of our civil proceedings demanding notice, is that of public works. On this head the advocates of

* These are young gentlemen lately out from Haileybury College, who, having passed a year or two in the Presidencies on good pay, doing what they liked, under feint of being at College, have just received an appointment. After a month in the Presidency, each youth ought to be sent "up country," to reside under the eye of some experienced officer, to attend daily either in court, or in the office; hear the language spoken in law-suits,—one of the best practices in the world for a learner; copy out accounts, petitions, letters, read the running-hand, and do every thing he will have afterwards to do. Thus he would at once be out of mischief, learning the language, and learning his business; instead of fooling away his time, and perhaps his character and pecuniary independence, in the Presidency. If, after a year,—at most, eighteen months,—so spent, he cannot write, read, and talk the vernacular passably, let him enter the army, or go home. This regulation might easily and usefully be appended to Sir Charles Wood's new scheme of patronage.

† The presentation to Haileybury College, which is the door to the civil service, has been taken from the Directors; and admission will henceforth be given to the successful competitors in an examination, open to all.

‡ Evidence before Commons, Second Report, p. 51.

the Company think that they are greatly wronged. In the papers before us, we have a section devoted to this question; and a large Blue Book on Public Works in Madras is lately out. Those who point to mausoleums, and temples, and so on, of former days, and reproach the Company for not adorning the country with similar erections, do a very foolish thing. And if Jehangir made a road to Cashmere, it was for his own pleasure; and if he made a few others afterwards, it was for much the same reason. Against such comparisons the Company's friends make good head; and those who accuse them of doing nothing are put to the rout. Here we have a display of Public Works under the different heads of Trunk-Roads, Cross-Roads, Railroads, Canals, Telegraph, Trigonometrical Survey, Paumbam Passage, and River Communication. It is plain that these are heads enough under which to enter, in the course of a century, no small sum of public service. How much is really to our credit? The trigonometrical survey has already extended over 477,044 square miles, and cost £341,278: it will probably be completed in three or four years; and is accompanied, *pari passu*, by the publication of an Atlas of all India, on a scale of four miles to the inch. This is a work which will be a worthier monument to a civilized nation than fifty *Taj-Mehals*. What idea will be conveyed to the majority of our readers by the words *Paumbam Passage*, we cannot say; but the matter is this:—When the wonderful god Rama wanted to punish a giant in Ceylon, who had run away with his wife, he raised an army by getting all the gods to become monkeys. In order to cross the Strait, they pulled up mountains, and cast them into the sea. Over these they marched. But in our day the Strait is wanted for floating vessels, and not for marching monkeys; so our Government, after spending £24,625 in surveying the Gulf of Manaar, found it possible to open a channel, and have done so, at a further cost of £16,394; thus enabling vessels to pass without going the round of Ceylon. Both of these are noble works; but not so eminently beneficial to India as the CANALS which are in progress. The rivers issuing from the Himalaya Mountains alone, are estimated to bring down for the benefit of India, *every second*, 24,120 cubic feet of water;—a store provided by a bountiful Heaven, for a land where about one acre in three needs artificial irrigation, or, rather, needs *industrial* irrigation; for we have no art yet whereby we could water, where no water is sent from the sky; but the fact, that all this store has been let run to waste, shows that we have inertness by which water sent may be useless. About 24,000 square miles of country may have all the parts needing industrial irrigation provided for by using these rivers. "The whole stream of the Jumna has been diverted from the main channel into two canals," of a joint length of 580 miles:—one of the noblest records "John Company" ever sent into the world. Yet a nobler is preparing: along a ridge of high land, running from the banks of the Ganges through the north-west Provinces, is

now constructing the Ganges Canal, the proudest footmark of the English yet printed on the *soil* of Asia. Already £722,556 have been spent, and £832,556 more are estimated for the total cost. The whole length of the trunk and different branches will be 810 miles, and the main lines will be in use next year. Another canal of 450 miles is in progress in the Punjaub.

Three great trunk-roads are far advanced,—from Calcutta to Peshawur, 1423 miles; Calcutta to Bombay, 1002; Bombay to Agra, 734: and these are only “selected” as illustrating what great roads are making, but so selected as if you selected the two legs and one arm of a man, and said that was a sample of his limbs! As to cross-roads, funds are set apart for their creation and maintenance. As to railroads, one is, and others are to be. As to the electric telegraph, it is at work for 82 miles, and is to extend for 3,150.

We have wished to do the Company justice, because we have a hard opinion to express; and, before doing so, we would give them the farther justice of admitting, that the Affghan war, which, whether viewed politically, financially, or morally, was a grievous fault, was *forced* upon them by the imperious will of a President of the Board of Control; and consumed the resources which, under the wise reign of Lord William Bentinck, were gathering in their treasury for the good of the country. But, making the amplest allowance, we must say, that the case which they make out, on this head, is altogether reproachful to their rule. The extent and cost of the works originated by them is paltry, compared with the magnitude of their Empire, of their revenue, and of their interests. The delay in setting railways on foot was as politically foolish, as it was unfaithful to the people committed to their care. The amount of works now in hand, though, probably, great in the eyes of those who judge by the past, is next to nothing compared with what would be a prudent investment, as well as a great benevolence. The “cross-roads” are clouded in the letter-press account, and prudently not inserted in the Map illustrating roads. As to the trunk-roads, it would be satisfactory, if Europe were roadless, to hear of one from Warsaw to Rotterdam, another from Warsaw to Lisbon, and a third from Lisbon to Paris. But we do not see that such an achievement would be great work for a century, or even half a century, or would provide for general locomotion. In Bengal, half of the districts have natural water communication, half are dependent on land. “They have only one road in Bengal,” says Mr. Marshman, after some thirty years spent in the country.* Mr. Pelley, the collector of Bellary, complains † that, in his district, they have not roads to correspond with those made in the adjacent Mysore Kingdom, which is not Company’s territory. But, though it is nominally the territory of the Rajah, and

* Commons’ Second Report.

† Blue Book, “Public Works, Madras.”

governed in his name, and though the Rajah has a great palace, a state-coach as tall as a tree and as wide as a parlour, drawn by six elephants, before which the Lord Mayor, with Gog and Magog, would be dwarfed, he cannot dispose of an acre of the soil, or appoint a single Policeman. The country is governed by a commission of English gentlemen, able to act with some energy, by being free from the routine of Company's territory. The consequence is, that while Mr. Pelley, governing Bellary, cannot get roads made, his brother-in-law, Captain Dobbs, governing Chittledroog, just across the frontier, runs one up through his "Division." Mr. Maltby, the Collector of Canara, gives the results upon the trade and revenue of his District from improved communication, which sufficiently prove how much they have promoted the comfort and activity of the people, and the interests of the Government.

What is the *end* of our rule in India? To imagine that it is to uphold English supremacy, and increase England's wealth, is to suppose an end unworthy of a benevolent Providence, or of a generous instrument of that Providence. The *end*, as designed by Providence, is the material and moral regeneration of India; and British supremacy is the means. We solemnly believe that he who would aim at the end by deranging the means, would wofully fail of his mark. But we equally believe, and we would pour our convictions into the ear of every man who has to do with India, that, to forget the end, and take the means for the end, is the shortest road to set aside the means. Use British ascendancy for selfish English ends, and you bring it to a premature close. Use it for the material and moral elevation of the great group of nations now so pliantly under your hand, and every benefit you confer on them returns in strength to your own resources. To uphold our ascendancy as an end, is but narrow national greediness; to uphold it as the means of India's peace and Asia's enlightenment, is good service to all mankind.

These observations apply forcibly to the internal improvement of the country. All we do for the good of the people, though costly at first, will strengthen us, morally and financially, as well as benefit them. The good Ruler of all loves goodness too well not to provide that works of goodness shall redound to the profit of their authors. In India, works of irrigation not only affect comfort, but life. The rains sometimes fail, and the water that runs to waste might have kept hundreds, yea, thousands, of healthy frames from shrinking into skeletons, and falling, famished, to the earth. Among the people the construction of useful works is viewed as the highest order of religious merit in public men. The remembrance of past oppressions is fading; each new generation will know less of evils formerly endured, and, therefore, will more feel those which remain. Unless, then, their present rulers are ever showing zeal for their interest, the content which is our safeguard will turn to disaffection.

Another branch of our civil government, to which we turn with a blush, cannot be passed by,—our revenues from opium and spirits. In Bengal the growth of opium is a Government monopoly; that grown in Bombay pays a heavy duty; that from the native central States pays heavily, in passing through our territory for export. From this source we realize a rapidly increasing revenue:—

In the year 1834	.....	£728,517
..... 1838	.....	1,487,291
..... 1840	.....	316,666
..... 1844	.....	1,898,274
..... 1850	.....	3,309,637

The first year was before the Chinese war was thought of; the second, when the plague was growing, so as to alarm the Government of that country; the third, when the war was at its height; and the rest show how the thing has worked since we were victorious. By Chinese law, opium is prohibited; it can be landed only by smuggling. The Company grow, tax, and sell the opium; British ships bear it from India to Hong-Kong; British men-of-war see it put on board "receiving-ships," and indifferently regard all the preparations of smuggling. It is landed by stealth, or by bribery of officials; and then men sin, suffer, and die. A Government with which we are in treaty is affronted; a coast with which we are at peace, infested; and a people who send us our most civilizing beverage are repaid with debauch. We do not stop to reason with the East India Company on the impolicy of this proceeding, or to show that it is an uncertain revenue. We say, at once, as our short and sufficient argument, that they are doing a bad action, living upon vice, feeding lawless trade, sinning against individuals, and against public law. It is not a matter of policy, where we might show expediency; it is a sin, and we must demand repentance. As to restitution, alas! what numbers have been sent where no wrong can be repaired! Were we able to call hither the *wraith* of every dying opium-eater, and to lead the spectral band to the Board of Directors, when their balance-sheet is under review, should we not hesitate lest they, at the sight, should be struck with even a more fearful madness than that inflicted by their drug on the wretches in whose suicide they are trading?

The revenue from spirits is demoralizing our own subjects, as opium is the Chinese. Natives, "with the greatest official powers, and the smallest possible salaries,"—as is truly said in the "*Calcutta Review*,"—find it to their own interest, as well as to that of the Government, to originate the sale of spirits where it has not been begun, and to prevent its cessation where it has. In consequence, drunkenness—a crime abhorrent to the usages of both Hindu and Mussulman, and, fifty years ago, known chiefly as an English abomination—is now in many villages added to the fearful catalogue of vices indigenous to Bengal. We are demoralizing our subjects for gain. The valuable evidence of

Colonel Alexander, late Adjutant-General of the Madras army, shows how we are doing the same thing with our troops. Here is another case, not of policy, but of morals. The basest prostitution of Government is to corrupt the people for state ends. Our hands must be washed of this iniquity, and our efforts turned to restore in India the temperance which the climate demands, to which the people lean, and which, happily, as yet our evil courses have but partially superseded.

This last feature of the civil history of our rule naturally leads us to its moral history. Here we begin in chaos; and long was the moral scene "without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep." Mammon was the *Pater Omnipotens* of Company and Company's servants; Bacchus was the household god; and the Indian Cama, whose European name we will not give, was freely worshipped. For the first time the people of Hindustan saw a race of conquerors who had no faith to recommend, and no scruples as to supporting any religion,—a race to whom the Mohammedan seraglio, and the Hindu Sutte, Juggernaut, and Kali, were equally welcome; who supported all temples, and worshipped in none. By slow degrees, however, a man began to appear here and there, whose business seemed to be to teach, and who had a sacred book. In time, it became the impression of some discerning natives, that the English had a religion after all; but it was chiefly good for England, and not fit to be talked of in the light of oriental day. At last one man arrived in a Danish ship, who seemed to think of teaching the natives; but he was soon driven from British territory, and would have been driven from India, only that the Governor of the feeble Danish settlement of Singapore had the courage to tell Lord Minto, that, if he violated the asylum of his flag, it should be struck. In the state of English mind then, it would have been ruin to make the Hindus aware that we were wiser than to approve the worship of bullocks, monkeys, snakes, and stocks, or than to think burning the living, drowning the dying, or hooking up men by the flesh, and swinging them, acts of piety. According to the same mind, it was worthy of British statesmen to pay the temple of Juggernaut; to raise revenue by the superstitions of Tripati; to send escorts of honour and offerings of gold cloth to hideous blocks; and to fee troops of prostitutes to dance in the temples of our territory. In personal morals and in public measures our name was put to reproach. The first amendment began under Warren Hastings; but it was only a slight check to political corruption. The general indignation which the first stages of his trial excited in England did much to awaken Englishmen in the East to the fact, that, though they might "leave their religion at the Cape, and take it up on their way back," they could not quite escape the observation of Christendom. The measures of different Governors-General tended to banish those vices which are ungentlemanly; and the arrival of some pure and courageous

men as Chaplains brought rebuke upon offences which the gentleman's code does not recognise. Brown, Buchanan, and Tyn, were lights in a dark day; and Carey, though hunted at first, was soon followed by other Missionaries, who, in spite of the gratuitous alarms of the Government, made good their settlement in the country. In 1813, after bitter opposition from the friends of the old state of things, a regular ecclesiastical establishment of Chaplains, with a Bishop at their head, was organized, to be paid by the Government, but to be devoted to the service only of the Europeans. The Bishop, indeed, naturally became the head of the Missionaries belonging to the Church of England, as well as of the Company's Chaplains. In 1834 two more Bishops were added; and at the present day the number of Chaplains is, in all, one hundred and fifteen. But how far the wants of the Europeans are met by this, may be judged by the one fact, that, from the beginning of the Affghan war to its end, not a Chaplain was with the army. Except a very few Scotch Ministers, they are all of the Established English Church. Considering the large number of soldiers in many regiments whose parents and early associations were Wesleyan, we think that some Ministers of that body might properly be employed, although we suppose such a proposal would raise strange war among the Bishops and their staff. Romish Priests are salaried for attending to soldiers of their own creed, though not on the staff of Chaplains. In the mean time Missionaries sent by the different societies in this country, and also from America and Germany, became settled in the country.

King George I. took considerable interest in the work of the Danish Ministers who led the way among Protestant labourers for the conversion of the Hindus, and wrote to them twice, encouraging them to persevere.* But when the English had acquired a political interest in the country, all efforts to convert the natives were regarded with great aversion by the local powers, who imparted their unworthy fears to the authorities at home. The Christian element, which came in with the English, had at once to sustain itself against the apathy of the natives, and the undisguised opposition of those in power. But imperceptibly it won its way. The first effects appeared in the lives of the European community, many of whom forsook the manners with which the natives had been rendered familiar, and began to show them examples of life, as free from the vices of Englishmen as from the superstition of Hindus. As the Christians became stronger, an effect followed at home analogous to what took place respecting the West Indies. In both cases, the attention of the English public was awakened to the evils which were practised in the name of England. The Government support of idolatry, the permission of suttee, and other evils, were openly, though at first feebly, assailed. The Government, on its

* See Hough's "History of Christianity in India."

part, founded colleges and schools, from which all Christian teaching was excluded, and the Bible specially forbidden. But the strong Government, backed by the ability of many public men, gradually receded before the truth. Liberty of action was by degrees accorded to the Missionaries, till in time their labours were as free as they could desire. Lord William Bentinck, at a stroke, abolished suttee. The Government, at a comparatively early period, encouraged a humane officer in his endeavours to put down female infanticide in Guzerat, and has accomplished much by similar efforts in Rajpootan. The Thugs, the most fearful horde of assassins that ever infested any country, were tracked out with zeal, and their slaughters brought to an end. Slowly and reluctantly the Government began to show some shame respecting its connexion with Heathen rites. Its own servants began to protest against the degradation of doing homage to absurd and obscene idols. The Commander-in-Chief of Madras resigned his high post rather than be silent. At last one tie after another was severed. Yet even now the connexion is not at an end. In many cases the temples have lands; these the Government manage, not, we confess, for their own gain, but for the protection of the tenants. In many other cases, lands had formerly been taken on the understanding that an annual payment of money would be made. In Madras, £80,000 a year, and in Bombay £70,000, are paid in these two ways to temples. We do not know the total in Bengal; but Jugger-nauth, after all that has been said, is still receiving £2,333 annually.* Full justice ought to be done to all pecuniary rights of the temples; but the Government ought at once to adopt some mode of delivering themselves from all connexion whatever with the administration of their revenues.

During the last twenty years the Missionaries have rapidly increased in number, in influence, and in knowledge of the native languages; yet, considering that they labour among a population so enormous, and assail a system upheld by SOME MILLIONS of hereditary Priests, they are still despicable in numbers, and several whole kingdoms are unoccupied by any of their agencies, while in many others they have only a single post or two.

The total result of their labours has never been accurately ascertained till lately, when, after publishing, in the "Calcutta Review," approximate statements of converts, scholars, &c., the Rev. Mr. Mullens, of Calcutta, carefully obtained returns from every station in India. He then published "Revised Statistics of Missions in India and Ceylon;" from which it appears that we have of

Missionaries	443
Native Catechists	698
Native Christians, counting all who have renounced Heathenism, and placed themselves under the care of the Missionaries	112,191

* "Calcutta Review," No. XXXVII.

Communicants, or Church-members	18,410
Scholars, boys	64,480
Do., girls	14,398

Of the male pupils above 14,000 learn English; and of the girls, 2,779 are in boarding-schools.

The Bible is translated into TEN languages, the New Testament into FOUR others. In some languages as many as thirty, forty, or even seventy tracts and books are published; and TWENTY-FIVE printing-establishments are maintained.

Toward the cost of these Missionary labours, above THIRTY-THREE THOUSAND POUNDS annually are raised in India.

The Romanists appealed to the natives by conforming to their own ceremonial, or, where in power, by exerting authority. The Dutch enforced baptism at the peril of civil punishment. The modern Protestant Missionaries approach the defences of Brahmanism with no weapons but the sermon, the book, the school. The fact that more than a hundred thousand Hindus have, with only such inducements, openly renounced their ancestral creed, is of more significance than it would be among any other people; for they are proverbially averse to change; and such is the closeness of caste ties, that the conversion of any number of individuals agitates a large community, which feels its traditions violated, and its integrity impaired. No fact is more expressive of the inroad made on Hindu immobility, than that FOURTEEN THOUSAND Hindu females are in schools managed by foreigners, and openly designed to subvert the religion of the ancients. By native usage, no female learned to read but those devoted to public shame: thus the force both of custom and of modesty was arrayed against the friends of female education. That they have done so much, is but the earnest of great things yet undone.

One hundred thousand souls detached from Indian Heathenism, is but as a single stone from a vast citadel; but it is the first stone after a breaching fire, and tells that those around are loosened, and that in time a way will be hewn into the heart of the fastness. The Hindus cannot for ever worship stocks, stones, apes, and kites. The son on the banks of the fair Ganges will not for ever bear his father, when old and weak, to drown him in its tide: the streets of Madras will not for ever witness men swinging by hooks in their flesh, and multitudes making holiday to see the sacrifice. He who imagines that such things are not to pass away, has a pitiful notion of human destinies. That they will perish, is as certain as that they are wrong. The Brahmans feel that they are in danger. The law permitting persons to retain property irrespective of religion, was viewed by them with great alarm. In order to stay the defections, they passed a resolution in Calcutta, that apostates might regain their caste position, by presenting certain costly offerings; thus, in fact, reducing the penalty of breaking caste to a

fine. The Missionaries are but in the beginning of their work ; but at this moment, no man in their ranks, capable of large and general views, doubts for an instant that, slowly and silently, but with gathering impetus, the mind of India is rising above the superstition of the Brahmans, and will, before many decades of years, emerge into Christian light. It is not at all wonderful that gentlemen who see nothing of religious movements in England, and could give no account of them when they go to India, should see no religious movements in India, and can give no account of them when they come to England. Deeply to study moral questions does not fall within the taste of all. Some give loud opinions on moral points between the Missionaries and the Heathen, who would not like to ask the Missionaries for a judgment as to their title to speak on such questions. And many who have no personal habits which Christian teaching troubles, yet look only at the surface of moral questions. Even Mr. Campbell, careful on other matters, is on these incredibly superficial. As to the authority of Professor H. H. Wilson, (great in literature,) it is on moral points of light value. But whether Indian officials slight and oppose Missions, or support them, as large numbers do, both by liberal help and spotless lives, the Churches of this country are resolved to fulfil the call of God ; and the benign predestination which dooms all the cruelties and follies of idolatry to perish, will have its course in Hindustan, which will hereafter be as great an ornament and strength to Christianity, as it has hitherto been to superstition.

It is not to be desired that the Government should interfere for the conversion of the natives ; but they ought to abstain from all support, direct or indirect, of idolatry, and ought, without fear, to put an end to *cruel* rites. It is reported, that the Court of Directors have sent out a Despatch, forbidding their servants to give any countenance, in their private capacity, to the labours of Missionaries. We hope this rumour is incorrect ; but, if not, it is one of those many follies which, under certain leadings, the Court has from time to time adopted and defended, till public shame drove them back. The sooner they revoke this last fault, the lighter shade will it leave on their history.

As to education, the Government spends £45,000 a year on colleges and schools, and teaches perhaps 25,000 pupils. This is small in amount ; for the Missionaries, with funds raised by voluntary efforts, educate 78,000 ; but it is more to be regretted, that the character of Government education is defective, than that its extent is limited. They teach literature and science, which shake the belief of their disciples in Hinduism, but they strictly exclude the Bible ; so that the ancestral faith which they dispel is not replaced by a higher and a purer, but by scepticism. The pupil learns that the sacred books which his fathers revere are full of blunders ; and that the sacred Book which Christians revere is not thought of such value by the Government, as to risk hurting the feelings of the Brahmans, for the sake of opening its

pages to the youth of Hindustan. Thus the Government begin their training by disparaging the Christian religion in the eyes of the pupil, and end it by exploding the Hindu. To the youth thus trained they give, perhaps, a situation, where power is in his hand, and inducements to corruption are daily offered. They have done nothing to lay in his mind a firm foundation of good principle; for mathematics do not make men disinterested, nor does Shakspeare imbue them with morality; and if, instead of men with a code of pure morals, enforced by venerable sanction, before their eyes, they send out into the offices of the Government men with untutored consciences, they may expect to reap the reward in official corruption and popular grievance. It is a fearful example in morals for a Government to proclaim, that, for political expediency, they will forbid and drive away, from all instruction sanctioned by them, the Book which, they acknowledge, above all others, teaches those in power to act as accountable to One who is Lord of all.

We should by no means desire the Government to make it compulsory on pupils to read the Bible. Let it only be left free, as in Ceylon. Let but the Government fix its own standard, name its own *secular* school-books, appoint its own Inspectors, and then say that every school which reaches this standard shall have such and such support. This would leave the people perfectly free to seek education where they may, and would give a universal stimulus.

In a pamphlet published in 1813, by Mr. C. S. John, of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, we find that, in the days of Swartz, the Court of Directors committed itself to the support of free schools, under Christian management; ordering "the Honourable Government of Madras to encourage these schools by granting £100 annually to each which might be established." But "only a small number were established, for which 500 pagodas *per annum* were granted by the Honourable Government, which afterwards was increased to 1000."

So far from the natives taking umbrage at Bible-schools, the King of Tanjore in former days, and the King of Mysore in our own, have shown them great favour; and the latter, for years, supported one at his sole expense. The people always flock to them; and we have just seen a petition, signed by 3,314 natives, in eight different languages, forwarded from the city of Mysore, by the hands of a Missionary, to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, requesting them to establish an English school in the city; and being avowedly the petition of "Hindus, Mussulmans, and all the other classes." In Ceylon the Government have a School-Commission, which is doing, for that island, imperishable services; and when the Brahmans set up a school in opposition to Christian schools, they found it needful to introduce the Bible to make it popular.* In the Kingdom of Mysore the Commis-

* See Sir J. E. Tennant's work on "Christianity in Ceylon."

sioner grants 300 rupees per month to the Wesleyan Mission school at Bangalore, where between three and four hundred scholars are educated: and a smaller grant to another school in Toomcoor, which was built for the Missionaries *by the natives*. The fears of the Directors are ridiculed by experience; and the full time has come when the Madras Government should be permitted to carry out its plans for education, and similar plans be adopted all through the country.

As to the merits of the various plans for reform in the Indian government, we should have felt bound to treat them at some length, had not the Bill of Sir Charles Wood already carried all before it in Parliament. That act has one feature of great importance,—namely, laying open the arrangements to the review of Parliament at any period, instead of, as heretofore, locking them up for twenty years together. This will bring the authorities, both here and in India, far more under a sense of responsibility; and it will also maintain a livelier interest respecting Indian affairs in Parliament, and in the country. The opening of the civil and medical service to public competition is a great boon to the nation, and a promise of good for India. We regret that Sir Charles abridged his original design, by returning Addiscombe to the pockets of the Directors. The chief plea in favour of the double Government has been, that it prevents India from being governed by political party. We do not see much in the argument, except that the patronage was not available for party purposes. Let commissions be sold, and that point is settled. Lord Broughton could not appoint cadets; but he could over-ride all who knew what they were about, and inflict upon India the Affghan war. The Board of Control has all power, little knowledge, and hitherto next to no responsibility. The Court of Directors has plenty of knowledge, great patronage, immense influence, but no direct power, and no responsibility at all. The President of the Board of Control, who knows just as much of India the day he enters office as any educated man you might pick up, never meets the Court of Directors, and may, with one stroke of his pen, forbid or enforce whatever he pleases. Most of the political follies are due to the Board of Control,—most of the moral faults to the Court of Directors. Two bodies which never meet, concocting schemes in common for the government of a great country, far off,—is a confusion that cannot last. Whatever changes may or may not be debateable, surely, in common sense, the uninformed politician who has all the power, should, in important cases of difference, personally hear what the experienced Directors, in full court, have to say.

As to the interior administration of India, we should be glad that our Sovereign added to her titles that of Queen of Hindustan; that, henceforth, all public acts were done in her name, instead of the Company's; that the Governor-General were

declared Viceroy, with power to confer knighthood on Native or European; that the subordinate Councils were abolished, and the minor Presidencies administered, as that of Agra now is, by an untrammelled, but competent, Governor, with a vast saving of expense, and gain of efficiency; that the Supreme Council were enlarged, so as to represent all the Presidencies, and the Secretaries of Government made responsible; that the three armies were made one; salt and opium struck from the tariff; a general code published; universities founded at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Agra, with Colleges of Medicine, of Law, of Letters, and of Arts, regular examinations and degrees, pupils from any school being eligible for examination; a system of school-inspection organized, and all educating, according to a fixed secular standard, supported. Into minor points, or the details of those we have indicated, we do not now enter.

The recent discussions create a new era in the British connexion with India. Much information has been spread, and much interest excited. The changes introduced will place Indian affairs more immediately under the eye of the British Parliament and people. It now becomes the duty of England to undertake, with greater earnestness, the real work for which India has been placed under her care. Never did a higher mission invite the aspirations of Statesman or of Christian, than to confer on the teeming millions of an ancient race the temporal blessings of good government, and the eternal hopes of true religion. Our connexion with them, viewed with a careless eye, appears as the high romance of commercial history; but, viewed with deeper thoughts, it stands out as the Providential plan of redeeming modern Asia. Never did Empire begin so strangely, rise so easily, and consolidate in so brief a time. Never was Empire held with physical power so disproportionate, and at a distance so great. That which it is fashionable to call an Empire of Opinion, would far more truly be called an Empire of Providence. It is only to be confirmed by adopting such principles and objects of Government, as a wise and benevolent Providence can view with approval. Let our Statesmen honestly set before themselves the task of making the great nations of India happy and prosperous, and of opening the way for their mental and moral improvement. And let our Missionary Churches, with energy worthy so magnificent a conflict, reinforce the posts now scattered through Hindustan, and calmly wait, in unwavering faith, till a change comes upon the changeless; till the people who, for three thousand years, have worshipped Shiva and Vishnu, shall cast them down before the name of Jesus, as Europe once cast Jupiter and Thor.

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

The Autobiography of B. R. Haydon. Edited by Tom Taylor, Esq. Three Vols. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

FEW men write the history of their own life,—fewer still would think of crowding twenty-seven folios with *ms.* carefully revised and corrected; but surely nobody but Haydon would have left such bulky volumes as a sacred deposit, with the special request that they might be given to the world unabridged! But it was highly characteristic. He looked upon himself as a hero and a martyr; and lived and died fully persuaded that posterity would find it out, would treasure up every incident of his life, and consult his recorded opinions as oracular. Vanity was his cardinal failing; exaggerated notions of his own importance led him into all kinds of absurdity and mischief. Obstinaey and a quarrelsome disposition were results only. It is impossible not to see that Haydon was his own worst enemy. A different demeanour would have retained his first patrons, and attracted new ones; and ultimately his undoubted talents would have been generously rewarded, and the object of his ambition more speedily attained.

Still there are many excellencies to counterbalance these defects. His energy and resolution compel admiration in spite of prejudice. Although self-taught, he acquired not only proficiency in the art, but eminence. Difficulties that would have daunted other men, embarrassed circumstances and repeated disappointments, only stimulated him to more vigorous exertion; and he recovered from each successive blow, only to aim at something greater than he had yet accomplished. A determination that nothing could shake, an ambition that was never satisfied,—these are fragments of a noble character. Had there been, in addition, prudence and judgment to direct and modify these efforts, the result would have been widely different. Haydon did nothing by halves; every subject of which he commenced the study was thoroughly mastered before any thing else was taken up; he went to the root of things, and studied causes and principles. He was the first to discover the value of the Elgin Marbles,—an offence that was never forgiven; and although there is now no difference of opinion on the subject, yet, for a length of time, Haydon had to sustain the controversy single-handed. It would be unjust to deny that he had a considerable share in the advancement of art in this country. He laboured incessantly for this object, and in every possible way,—by

example, by the press, the lecture-room, petitions, and private applications to Ministers; and eventually his obstinate perseverance began to tell.

There are many instances in his journal of kindly and generous feeling, especially in the early part of his career;—for example, the account of Wilkie's first success:—

"The last day for sending in the pictures arrived, and Jackson told me that he remained late at night, endeavouring to persuade Wilkie to send his picture in; but such was his timidity and modesty, that he really did not seem to believe in its merit, nor had he fully consented when Jackson took his leave. However, to the Academy it went..... On the hanging-day, the Committee were so delighted, that they hung it on the chimney,—the best place for a fine picture. On the private day there was a crowd about it; and, at the dinner, Angerstein took the Prince up to see it.

"On the Sunday, the next day, I read in the News, 'A young man by the name of Wilkie, a Scotchman, has a very extraordinary work.' I was in the clouds, hurried over my breakfast, rushed away, met Jackson, who joined me, and we both bolted into Wilkie's room. I roared out, 'Wilkie, my boy, your name's in the paper!' 'Is it rea-al-ly?' said David. I read the puff; we huzzaed; and, taking hands, all three danced round the table until we were tired. Ah! these unalloyed moments never come twice; our joy was the joy of three friends, pure from all base passions, one of whom had proved a great genius; and we felt as if it reflected honour on our choice of each other."—Vol. i., p. 43.

Haydon was on most friendly terms with most of the literary men of his day,—Sir Walter Scott, Wordsworth, Keats, Hazlitt, Campbell, Lamb, the Hunts, &c.; some of whom gave substantial proofs of their friendship in times of difficulty and distress. They furnish his journal with numberless anecdotes: some are valuable as illustrative of character; others are merely humorous and amusing. Wilkie relates the following:—

"When Sir Walter Scott was a child, his mother and family were all dressed one evening to go out. There was a long discussion. Sir Walter remembered his mother saying, 'No, no, Watty canna understand the great Mr. Garrick.' Scott used to tell this, and always was indignant at the supposition."—Vol. iii., p. 132.

"I quoted his (Wordsworth's) own beautiful address to the stock-dove. He said, once, in a wood, Mrs. Wordsworth and a lady were walking, when the stock-dove was cooing. A farmer's wife, coming by, said to herself, 'O, I do like stock-doves!' Mrs. Wordsworth, in all her enthusiasm for W.'s poetry, took the old woman to her heart; 'but,' continued the old woman, 'some like them in a pie; for my part, there's nothing like 'em stewed in onions.'"—Vol. iii., p. 201.

In 1832 Haydon received a commission to paint "the Reform Banquet;" and his antipathy to portrait-painting seems to have been completely outweighed by the pleasure of mixing for a time with the great Statesmen and leaders of the movement. The incidents of each day, some of them amusing enough, are chronicled with evident satisfaction and self-complacency.

"12th.—Lord Westminster sat to-day. After Lord W. was gone, came the Lord Advocate (Jeffrey). He amused me delightfully, and

talked incessantly; but there is a sharp, critical discovery of what is defective in nature which is not agreeable. He described Lord Althorp's reception of him last May, when he called to ask what he should do about his resignation, which was quite graphic. Lord Althorp's secretary could not give him any information, and Lord Althorp desired he would walk upstairs. Up Jeffrey walked. Lord A. had just done washing, and one arm was bare above the elbow, and rather hairy. His razor was in the other, and he was about to shave. 'Well, Mr. Advocate,' said his Lordship, 'I have the pleasure to inform you that we are no longer his Majesty's Ministers. We sent in our resignations, and they are accepted.' When they returned, Jeffrey called again. He was looking over his fowling-pieces, and said to Jeffrey, 'Confound these political affairs; all my locks are got out of order,' in his usual grumbling, lazy way. Jeffrey said he thought him a fine specimen of what an English gentleman ought to be.

"27th.—Lord Plunkett sat, very amiably and quietly. He has an arch humour. 'When do you sketch O'Connell?' said one of his daughters. 'There is one thing,' said Lord Plunkett: 'if you could take his head entirely off, you would do great good to society.'"—Vol. ii., p. 337.

In the autumn of 1835, Haydon began to lecture. He was now in very great distress, having been compelled to pawn his books, portfolio, and even his spectacles, and, before he could appear decently at the lecture-room, had to release a black coat from the pawn-shop.

Mr. Taylor tells us that "Haydon was a most effective lecturer. His confident, energetic, and earnest manner carried his audience cheerfully along with him. His delivery was distinct and animated, and his style better adapted for hearing than reading. The lecturer's power of rapid and vigorous drawing also stood him in good stead; and the masterly effect with which he dashed down on his black board a figure or a limb, or illustrated the leverage of a bone, or the action and mechanics of a muscle, always commanded interest and applause. Then he was never afraid of his audience; he ruled them, sternly enough sometimes, and never shrunk from a reprimand when he thought they deserved it. A friend who attended his lectures at Liverpool has described to me how once, when he had got up two wrestlers on the platform to demonstrate the laws of muscular action in the living subject, the audience having laughed at some contortion of the pair, Haydon, fiercely addressing the laughers as 'you fools,' checked the merriment, and ordered his hearers to observe and admire, with more respect for God Almighty's handiwork."—Vol. iii., p. 33.

These volumes abound with anecdote and shrewd remark, and afford curious glimpses of life in circles that are not commonly accessible. The interest, however, is not diverted from the chief actor in this drama, or rather tragedy. The latter portion of the journal is distressing. Any reader ignorant of the circumstances of Haydon's death would forebode disaster. Whole days passed in expostulating with urgent creditors, and in warding off threatened executions,—nights spent in sleepless agony,—frantic efforts to extricate himself from the net of accumulated difficulties,—passionate appeals to his Maker,—all betray a mind unhinged by continuous misfortune, and yielding in the protracted struggle against despair.

Biographers are generally accused of extravagant partiality towards

the subject of their history: they are prone to hero-worship. Mr. Taylor must be fully acquitted of any such charge. He carefully shelters himself under the plea that he is merely an editor; and, when he speaks at all, does so apologetically, as though half ashamed of his task. The failings of Haydon's character are too painfully prominent to require comment; but there are also excellencies which teach as plain a lesson, and which it is an agreeable relief to dwell upon. Whether these redeeming features are made the most of, may be fairly doubted.

Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel, &c.

By S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. London: Bagster and Sons. 1853.

THE leading opinions of Dr. Tregelles on Scripture Prophecy have been before the public for several years. This volume is a corrected reprint of the smaller works previously published, with considerable additions in the shape of notes, and an Essay on the Authenticity of the Book of Daniel. We are not among those who object to inquiry into the unfulfilled predictions of Holy Scripture, as indicating a presumptuous spirit; on the contrary, we think, a special blessing is pronounced on those who reverentially seek to ascertain the mind of God as therein revealed. In this field of inquiry, men have frequently missed their way; and the circulation of extravagant and bewildering speculations has been the result. Their mistakes, however, have tended to the exercise of increased caution, and to brightening hopes of success. On this ground we are disposed to look favourably on any author, although differing from him in opinion, who employs his talents in this direction.

Our remark applies to Dr. Tregelles' book. His theory will be objected to by the majority of those who have studied the subject; and the arguments by which he seeks to establish its peculiarities, will be considered inconclusive. There is, however, throughout, a calmness and humility of spirit, so opposite to the bitter dogmatism frequently exhibited by writers on kindred subjects, which cannot fail to secure for him respect and attention. The general view entertained by Dr. Tregelles as to the great leading intention of the Book, the predictions of which he attempts to elucidate, is thus expressed: "The Book of Daniel is that part of Scripture which especially treats of the power of the world, during the time of its committal into the hands of the Gentiles, whilst the ancient people of God, the children of Israel, are under chastisement on account of their sin." The image, (Dan. ii.), and the four beasts, (Dan. vii.) as seen by Nebuchadnezzar in his vision, he considers to symbolize the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman Empires. Here he is in unison with the leading prophetic expositors. He contends that the ten-fold divisions of the Roman Empire, denoted by the ten horns arising out of the fourth beast, and consequently, the appearance of the "little horn," whose history assumes so prominent and terrible an aspect, and which is, we think, justly applied to the Papacy, have not yet taken place. Accordingly, the principle which applies many important predictions to the rise and development of that power, is rejected. On this theory we have yet to look for the appearance of the "little horn," (some great personification of infidelity,) who will persecute the saints, and exhibit

unparalleled wickedness, three literal years and a half, (the time, times, and half a time,) to be "reckoned backwards" from the time of Christ's coming in judgment. The "year-day system" is rejected; and days, in prophecy, taken to signify days, and years to signify years. How far the Doctor's reasoning from Scripture and history is satisfactory, will, perhaps, be variously estimated according to the opinions previously entertained. To us it appears by no means conclusive. We think we can perceive the clear fulfilment in the past, of much which he applies to the future. The latter part of the Book of Daniel is viewed as applying altogether to the exercise of Gentile power, in its special relationship to the Jews and Jerusalem. In the discussion of this, as of other parts of the subject, some of the expositions of Scripture are novel, and, we think, erroneous; but there is nothing subversive of the distinguishing doctrines of the Reformation, to which there is frequently expressed an ardent and unswerving attachment. We have, therefore, no right to complain. No theory of prophetic interpretation is obligatory. Differences of opinion as to the application of many predictions of God's book may exist, but the great doctrines of Christ's atonement, and of justification by faith in Him, admit of no question; they are universally binding. We are, then, in perfect agreement with the author relative to Popery, theologically considered: we differ from him as to its relationship to prophecy. Of the Doctor's Essay on the Authenticity of the Book of Daniel, we most unhesitatingly approve. It deals chiefly in the "positive evidence," and is much better adapted to general readers than the more elaborate treatises on the same subject.

Talpa: or, the Chronicles of a Clay Farm. An Agricultural Fragment. By C. W. H. Second Edition. London: Reeve and Co. 1853.

THE following extract will enable our readers to form an opinion on the subject and intention of this book:—

"O! never you listen to what them there papers says; they know nothing in the 'varsal world about it. They beent practical farmers as writes that stuff: none o' them as writes knows anything about farming."

"D'ye think not? Well, but suppose I were to write about the fields we have drained, and send it to some of those Editor men to print, and put it in the paper, wouldn't it do for somebody else to read: wouldn't it be as true *after it was* in print as it was before, when we were doing it?"

"O, that's a different thing, that is; 'cause, of course, they'd believe what you say."

"Well, now, suppose I were to put it as a sort of History of this Farm, *as it was, and as it is*,—a sort of Chronicle,—call it The Chronicle of a Clay Farm?"

"O, that's capital," &c.

We are well aware that there was, not long since, a great antipathy, among our agricultural friends, to written instructions on the subject of farming. A man must either be a farmer, and nothing else; or he was no farmer, and nothing better than a tailor! And for a bluff countryman to listen patiently to advice from a "scholard," could no

more be expected, than that a sailor should pay heed to the words of a land-lubber. We are glad to have witnessed, for some years past, that the notion of the incompatibility of a farmer and a man educated in letters and science, has been giving way. There still lurks, however, a feeling of distrust on this subject in many a bucolic mind. Our friends need not, however, distrust us; for we know something, practically, of clay-farming; and we assure them that we will recommend to them, with confidence, only that which is the result of practice as well as theory. We hope we are not asking too much of them, in this first instance, when we call on them to believe that the writer of this book, a scholar and a lawyer, was, at the same time, a Wise Man and a Practical Farmer. At a future opportunity, it is our intention to address our agricultural friends more at large: at present, we can only introduce this excellent little book to their notice, promising them much pleasure and benefit from its perusal.

The book consists of a re-collection of Essays, in two series: the first part being purely retro-spective; the second, almost entirely prospective. In the first chapter, Talpa says, that he will, "like the self-devoted bird that plucks its own breast to feed the young brood, open up his early farming blunders to the instructive gaze of those young and ardent agriculturalists, who are just beginning to recognise the last of human sciences in the first of human arts; and to only wish, like duteous sons, their fathers were more wise." We have chapters on Draining, and Subsoiling, and Limeing; on the Removing of Hedge-rows, and on the Value of a Map of the Farm.

"One cheer for THE MAP after all! quoth I to myself, as at next candle-light down I sat again over the *bird's-eye view* of acres, which I now began to find were trodden by bipeds and quadrupeds with about equal perception of their plan and bearing. Who would be without an accurate map of his farm, who once knew the cumulative triumphs that it brings of skill and headcraft, as lavishly accorded in the end, as denied in the outset, by the gregarious juries who sit in judgment on his acts?"

Then we have Talpa's view of "Fallows, and what Follows;" of Levelling, of Clod-crushing, of Guano, &c.; with concluding remarks on the difficulty of farming; on the inadequate notions which bystanders entertain of the skill and the wisdom which are required for the cultivation of land; and on the injustice of the neglect which the husbandman experiences.

"O, Sir, if you had but seen the field as *I remember it*,"—"you would give honour to the toiler and the toil that are employed in carrying out the beneficent designs of Providence for man; in subduing, fertilizing, and beautifying the spot of earth on which his lot is cast. You would ask why, for thousands of years, we have crowned the warrior with laurels, the poet with ivy, the citizen with mural crowns, and the husbandman with—nothing. You would ask why his achievements are without record, and his name without honour; and his only reward that which is to be found in the words of the stern satirist: '*Laudatur et alget!*'"

The second series contains advice and exhortation on the necessity of an education in farming, before a man can hope to farm to advantage. "*Why* do you think—why does every body think—that he can farm without having learnt how? that agriculture (if you like that word

best) is an exception to *every* other human law or pursuit,—a contradiction to all natural law,—and will bring a livelihood without study, cost, or apprenticeship.” Then comes a chapter on Landlord and Tenant, with remarks on Leases, &c.; but the principal part of this series is occupied by sundry remarks on the application of steam to agriculture; from which interesting subject we are compelled at present to refrain. We will give one extract on this question:—

“I say, the plough has the sentence of death written upon it, *because it is essentially imperfect*. What it does is little towards the work of cultivation; but that little is tainted by a radical imperfection,—damage to the subsoil, which is pressed and hardened by the share, in an exact ratio with the weight of soil lifted, *plus* that of the force required to effect the cleavage, and the weight of the instrument itself.” “Once let the Q. E. F. be clearly understood by them; once let them be made fully to perceive that ‘ploughing’ is merely the first of a long series of *means* towards the accomplishment of a particular end, that end being the production of a *seed-bed* of suitable depth and texture, and with the soil as nearly as possible inverted in its bed; and I do not think that they will be long in setting the steam-engine about its proper task, in the proper way.”

We have been thus liberal in our quotations, that our agricultural readers might be able to form an opinion of the kind of book which we are recommending to them. At all events, we promise them some very agreeable reading; and we shall be disappointed if they decide that it is not, also, useful. There are twenty-four vignettes, by George Cruikshank, which enhance the value of the volume.

Bases of Belief: an Examination of Christianity, as a Divine Revelation, by the Light of recognised Facts and Principles. In Four Parts. By Edward Miall, M.P. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1853.

THE great object of the present volume is “to remove preliminary objections of a strictly intellectual character, cherished by many against Christianity as a revelation of God.” It is not so much a book of evidences in support of Christianity, as a book *on* such evidences. Christianity is treated as a fact; and, as a fact, is viewed in its origin, extension, means, persecutions, institutions, power, and influences. Its phenomena are of the greatest interest to the philosopher, and to all mankind. The whole thinkings of a large portion of our race, and the destinies of the most remarkable nations of the world, are affected and ruled by Christianity. Its progress has been every where a moral triumph, effecting the highest intellectual and social good to society. But all its proper conquests are accomplished by individual conviction, and personal moral transformation. Christianity, in its facts, is thus viewed by our author as an illustrious “phenomenon.”

But, he then inquires, how is it to be accounted for? Is it from men, or is it of God? It declares unambiguously its own pretensions. It is its own record and explanation. It challenges scrutiny. It professes to be a *Revelation*:—a dogmatic statement of truths which can only be known by revelation of God; of truths which man yearns after, but which Nature does not, cannot, disclose. Such revelation

was not needful to make known the facts of Christianity, but was absolutely necessary to a discovery of their import. In these designs the efficacy of Christianity rests: its doctrines are the vehicle and instrument of its power. Moral truth can alone be the fitting means of renovating a moral nature; and the main object of the Gospel is to affect and renew the heart, by an exhibition of the divine expedient for the redemption of man from the moral and penal evils of his present condition, by the death of God's own Son. We confess, however, that this part of the volume, valuable in so many respects, gives us less satisfaction than other parts. It is pervaded, we think, by a false estimate of the power and province of human reason. Mr. Miall thinks that the truths of revelation not only might be, but were, discovered by human reason; that Heathen Philosophers had "announced to the world substantially the same truths prior to the appearance of Jesus Christ, although, *perhaps*, with less authority and fulness:" so that it is only a question of degree! Christianity, it would seem, was not designed "to impart new religious ideas, but to *vivify* them." Thus we are told that the Apostles wrote as men who "had no suspicion that they were unveiling truths supernaturally."

"The Seal" of Christianity is next examined. That seal must, in the nature of things, be supernatural. In attesting a divine mission, we hold, contrary to Mr. Miall, that miracles, also, necessarily supported all the *dogmas* of Christianity. Mr. Miall has well brought out the necessity of such a display of power as plainly to declare the verdict of the Almighty Ruler in behalf of Christianity; and has once more dealt out argumentative justice upon Hume's sophism, which has received far more answers than it deserved. And with equal success does he handle Strauss's ingenious theory of the derived character of Christ.

The Fourth part of the Treatise is upon "the Record" of Revelation: for divine truths, thus vouchsafed to man, must have a record as well as the truths of science, if they are to be circulated and to become permanent. On this part of his subject, Mr. Miall writes with great force; and triumphantly shows that the denial of Christianity exposes a man to perplexities "a hundred-fold more numerous, and inexpressibly more revolting to our common sense, our moral instincts, and our religious sympathies, than any to which that belief now exposes us."

This is a volume of originality and power, containing passages of great beauty, and pervaded by felicitous illustration. It will be read with advantage by *thinkers*, although it may fail to lead to a just appreciation of spiritual Christianity. The volume errs chiefly by defect; and, while all who carefully weigh the author's facts and reasonings must feel afresh warranted in their "Bases of Belief," we question whether they who conclude upon the *nature* of religion from the perusal of this volume will have any accurate conceptions upon this vital question. This is greatly to be regretted, because it *could not* weaken the argument to exhibit clearly *the end* for which Christianity is supremely valuable, and the provision to secure that end in the influences of the Divine Spirit; a doctrine necessarily involved in the argument for the divine authority of Christianity, but too generally blinked. Indeed, we fear that Mr. Miall is hoping for too much in expecting that, by treating his argument philosophically, he will be able to win the pseudo-philosophers. The real objections to Christi-

anity are not questions of argument, but of aversion, and can only be overcome by the submission of the understanding and heart to the testimony of God. It is, therefore, much to be desired that all writings upon the Evidences of Christianity should keep these facts in view, and be pervaded by the spirit of affectionate earnestness and a bold exhibition of the peculiarities of the Gospel. The sceptics and unbelievers of the early ages were converted by a happy commingling of argument and testimony, appeal and persuasion; and, without this, men may be again, as often before, confounded without being convinced, and convinced without embracing the hated Christianity.

The Fall of the Roman Republic: a short History of the last Century of the Commonwealth. By Charles Merivale, B.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1853.

UNTIL recently, History has not been made to yield those lessons of practical wisdom which throw light upon the events of the past, and serve as beacons for the future. The historian has been content to compile from ancient sources the simple facts of his narrative, without pretending to discriminate the causes, or to discover the motives from which they arose. Its usefulness, therefore, as a commentary upon general principles, and a moral exhibition of the varying phases of human motives in action, has been comparatively slight.

The historical writings of the last thirty years open a new era in this department of letters, and give promise of fresh discoveries of the moral government of the world, and fresh proofs that man is the same, in the great principles and tendencies of his nature, in all times and places.

Mr. Merivale, in the work before us, undertakes to give a connected account of the last hundred years of the Roman Republic, pointing out the causes of its decline, and describing the agencies which brought about its fall. The period in question is full of instruction, with reference to the relations of military and civil government, as well as to the effects of increasing luxury and consequent effeminacy among all classes of the people.

Commencing with the agitations of the Gracchi, he describes the military achievements and party struggles of Marius, Sulla, Lucullus, Cneius Pompeius, Julius Cæsar, and the other great names of Rome, till the time when Octavius finally entered into the heritage of his uncle.

The style is animated and picturesque, never enthusiastic, and not often dull. The following remarks are not unworthy of notice:—

“There is no feature of Roman life, perhaps, which we can regard with so much satisfaction as the tone of habitual intercourse among public men at this period. The daily conflicts at the bar, or in the forum to which they were trained, would have only embittered their feelings towards one another, had they not been accompanied by the humanizing influence of social discussion on topics of literature and philosophy. The combination of these two habits seems, indeed, to form the best discipline of society, imparting to it earnestness, without violence, and a masculine courtesy far removed

from servility and adulation. The records of Roman debate present us with hardly a single scene of personal altercation; while the private re-unions of the most eminent statesmen are described to us as full of modest dignity and kindly forbearance."

The account of the death of Cicero may be given as a fair sample of Mr. Merivale's graphic powers of narration:—

"Marcus Cicero was with his brother Quintus at his Tusculan villa. At the first news of the proscriptions, they gained Astura, another of his villas, situated on a little island on the coast near Antium. From thence they proposed to embark for Macedonia; but they were insufficiently provided with money. Quintus, as the least obnoxious, retraced his steps to obtain the necessary supplies. On reaching the city, however, he was recognised, and slain, together with his son. Meanwhile, the surviving fugitive embarked. A favourable breeze wafted him off the promontory of Circeii; and from thence the mariners were about to stand out to sea, when Cicero resolved once more to land, and throw himself, as was supposed, on the clemency of Octavius. He proceeded some miles on the road to Rome; again he changed his mind, and returned to Circeii. There the night overtook him; and the hours of solitude and darkness increased his sleepless agitation. Some said that he now conceived a design of getting secretly into Octavius' dwelling, and slaying himself upon his hearthstone, '*to fasten upon him an avenging demon.*' With the dawn of day a gleam of hope once more visited the miserable sufferer. He besought his attendants to bear him once again to the sea-shore, and put him on board a bark. But adverse winds, or the distress of seasickness, or his own wavering resolution, induced him to return to land a second time; and he took up his abode for the night in his villa near Formiæ. In vain was he warned of the danger of these wretched delays. Utterly prostrated by anguish of mind and weariness of body, he only replied, '*Let me die, let me die in my fatherland, which I have so often saved.*' But his slaves now shut their ears to their master's moans, and, taking him in their arms, replaced him in his litter, with which they hurried again towards the coast, through the thick woods which lay between. The bloodhounds were already on the scent. Scarcely had the house been quitted, when a band of soldiers, led by an officer named Popilius, a client, whose life Cicero had saved, approached, and thundered at the closed doors. No one appeared to give them admittance; and, when they burst them open, the servants denied any knowledge of the fugitive's movements. There was a traitor, however, near at hand. A young man, by name Philogonus, who had been freed by Quintus, and educated by Marcus himself, put the assassins on the track. Some followed in pursuit; while Popilius made a rapid circuit to occupy the outlet of the path through the woods. Cicero had not yet reached the open beach when he perceived the pursuers gaining upon him. His party were more numerous than the enemy: they would have drawn their swords in his defence; but he forbade them. Cicero now bade his slaves set down the litter, and, leaning his chin on his left hand, (his usual posture in meditation,) he fixed his eyes steadily on his murderers, and offered his throat to the sword. The ruffians were shocked at his squalid, unshorn visage. Many covered their faces with their hands; and thrice in his trepida-

tion did their leader draw the blade across his throat ere he could sever the head from the body. With the head the murderer carried off the hands also: such was the command of Antonius. The thunder of the Philippics had issued from the one; but the other had inscribed them upon parchment more durable than stone or brass."

The Rivers, Mountains, and Sea-Coast of Yorkshire. With Essays on the Climate, Scenery, and ancient Inhabitants of the County. By John Phillips, F.R.S., Author of "Illustrations of the Geology of Yorkshire," &c. Map and 36 Plates. London, 1853.

ALTHOUGH this is a topographical work, it is by no means of merely local interest. Such, indeed, it could hardly be. The county is almost equal in population to the whole of Scotland, and is, in territorial extent, a province. The historian of the county is of the highest eminence in the scientific world, is an archaeologist and ethnologist, as well as a geologist and meteorologist, and manifestly combines refined perceptions with a cultivated taste. Add to these qualifications the fact that Professor Phillips has written *con amore*, and we can very well understand that such a work must greatly interest the general reader. Long before his eyes rested on the mountains of the north of England—from childhood, indeed—the mighty form of Ingleborough was engraved on the author's imagination; and, when he crossed the old Gothic bridge at York, (now swept away,) and beheld the glorious Cathedral which is the pride and veneration of Yorkshire, it was but the realization of a long-indulged dream of boyhood. There is a genial spirit of peace and happiness diffused over the descriptive parts of the work, well adapted "to win from the hasty traveller an hour's delay at the station, a day's wandering by the waterfalls, a week's ramble over rocky hills,"—the author's avowed object; while the grateful feeling which accompanies the record of some of the thoughts which filled the mind of the writer, (to use his own phrase,) while renewing health and strengthening hope on the mountains and in the dales, by the rivers and ruins of Yorkshire, is calculated not only to disarm the critic, but to attract the reader.

The first chapter is a disquisition on the principal features in the physical geography of Yorkshire. In a few short and pithy sentences the author follows the forming hand of the Creator, as He is seen operating through that order of events which He has established; and tells how the hills, and valleys, and plains, the glens, and rills, and fells, and caverns, and waterfalls were formed in the depths of the mysterious past. The rivers run in valleys which the primæval sea made for them; the great inland cliffs—the "nabs," and "scars," and "crags"—only differ from sea-cliffs because the water no longer beats against them. Primæval lochs first environed the green valleys that flourish on their site; and branches of the sea extended into the dales, and washed against the marsh precipices, now gleaming white in the sun from a setting of forest verdure.

The second chapter carries the reader among these beautiful hills and dales, and into scenery little, if at all, inferior in beauty to Westmoreland or Cumberland, telling him, as he travels onwards, of Roman camps, and the silent relics of Northmen, and the early British resist-

ing their invaders. On the highest points the Roman and Briton may be traced by camps, and even lines of huts. To the majority of British tourists the whole of the beautiful mountainous districts of Yorkshire is less known than Switzerland; but we strongly suspect they will not remain so. The caverns are as interesting as the hills and "fells." The mountain limestone is penetrated by rivulets and the drainage of the valleys, so as to be hollowed out into deep subterranean passages; some, it is believed, as yet undiscovered; several excavated into magnificent stalactitic caverns. Weathercote Cavern "has the uncommon ornament of a violent cascade,—a subterranean waterfall of twenty-five yards in height,—which fills the area with deafening noise, and raises a shower of spray, on which the morning sun pictures a rainbow." Ingleborough Cave is another singular cavern. It is a long subterranean gallery, adorned with stalactites of every imaginable form, some of exquisite beauty, ending, at a distance of seven hundred and two yards from the mouth, in a large and lofty irregular grotto, in which is heard the sound of water falling in a still more advanced subterranean recess, occupied by a deep pool, or linn, at a lower level. Mr. James Farrer explored this dark lake by swimming, with a candle in his cap, and a rope round his body.

Numerous rivulets and rivers commence their course in the mountains, and flow onwards, through glen, and dale, and plain, until they reach the ocean. The area of Yorkshire is 5,836 square miles: eight-tenths of this area (4,100 square miles) is drained by rivers that flow into the German Ocean. The drainage to the east sea, *not* through the Humber, amounts to about 740 square miles: two-thirds of this is through the rivers Esk and Tees. The Lerne and Ribble take the drainage of 393 square miles, and the Saddleworth of 33, to the Irish Sea. The great estuary of the Humber is formed by the confluence of the Ouse and Trent, after they have absorbed all the other rivers in their course. They contribute the drainage from nearly an equal area, the Ouse drawing more water than the Derwent, from an area less by 400 square miles. This estuary was the great route of the seakings of the north. By the Trent, they entered the heart of Mercia; and by the Ouse penetrated to the richest parts of Northumbria. Anglians, Danes, Norwegians, directed their course hither, and have left unmistakeable and permanent traces of their conquests and colonization. In no part of England is the language so racy in old English idioms; nowhere is there so pure a well of 'English undefiled.' Numerous words and passages in Shakspere, which have puzzled the minds of ponderous commentators, to the thorough-bred Yorkshireman are intelligible at a glance. Even now, the Dane understands the dialect-English of the northern counties better than the more modern and courtly English of the south. It is probable that, in the eleventh century, the language of the Norwegians and Yorkshiremen differed no more from each other than the existing dialects in the northern counties of England differ from each other. A curious illustration of this similarity, at the time we speak of, is mentioned in the *Saga* of Harald Hardrada. This king of Norway invaded England, by way of the Humber, a few days before the Conquest, and was defeated near York by Harold, at the battle of Stamford-Bridge, and slain on the field. Styrrkar, the Marshal of the Norwegian Monarch, escaped on horseback, and rode away in the evening. "It was blow-

ing a cold wind," (we quote Mr. Laing's translation,) "and Styrkar had not much other clothing upon him but his shirt, and had a helmet on his head, and a drawn sword in his hand. As soon as his weariness was over, he began to feel cold. A waggoner in a lined skin-coat met him. Styrkar asks him, 'Wilt thou sell thy coat, friend?' 'Not to thee,' says the peasant; 'thou art a Northman; that I can hear by thy tongue.' Styrkar replies, 'If I were a Northman, what wouldst thou do?' 'I would kill thee,' replied the peasant; 'but, as ill-luck would have it, I have no weapon just now by me that would do it.' Then Styrkar says, 'As you can't kill me, friend, I shall try if I can't kill you.' And with that he swung his sword, and struck him on the neck so that his head came off. He then took the skin-coat, sprang on his horse, and rode down to the strand."

The ethnological portion of Professor Phillips's work is an interesting contribution to the sciences of both ethnology and archæology. The successive races are traced by the remains of their language, and of their fortresses, fortified camps, towns, and cemeteries. Numerous Yorkshire *tumuli* have been opened, and their contents are described. Two were those of British charioteers. They had been interred in martial guise, surrounded by what, in life, formed their pride and delight. The skeleton of one rested on his shield, and around it were the decayed remains of his chariot; with the other, the skeleton of a pony, and the skulls of two wild boars were found, besides the remains of wheels, trappings, and ornaments.

The Philosophy of Atheism examined and compared with Christianity: a Course of Popular Lectures delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, Bradford, on Sunday Afternoons, in the Winter of 1852-3. By the Rev. B. Godwin, D.D. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1853.

THIS cheap and beautiful volume is, substantially, a reprint of a valuable book brought out in reply to a challenge put forth by a party of sceptics in Bradford in 1833. Dr. Godwin thought the honour of Christianity implicated, and stepped forward to take up the gauntlet. The Lectures he then delivered were afterwards published, and were highly appreciated by the public. For ten years, the author was absent from Bradford; and on his return found that the leaven of Infidelity was afresh pervading the working population of his favourite town. His spirit was stirred within him; and again he entered the arena to do battle with the latest form of scepticism. The Lectures which did such service to the cause of truth twenty years before,—by confirming some who wavered, by recovering others out of the snare of the devil, and by at least silencing the adversary,—were re-modelled, to suit the exigency of the times, and delivered in the Mechanics' Institute before crowds of intelligent work-people, with various, but decisive, effect. The Lectures, as here presented, are most admirable; and if they were appreciated by such an audience, we must form a high opinion of the intelligence of the ordinary population of that enterprising and prosperous town. The Lectures present a beautiful philosophical argument, conducted with great caution and logical security, most happy and complete in its illustrations, breathing a

devout and earnest spirit, and pressing home upon the hearers practical conclusions of infinite consequence, if there be a God of such perfections, as our author proves. No Atheist *can* answer Dr. Godwin, we are persuaded; and no sincere sceptic can carefully read his pages without feeling the pleas for unbelief and Atheism fade away, until nothing remains to sustain his scepticism, but the cold and dreadful wish that there were no God.

We are much indebted to Dr. Godwin for the Preface to his volume, in which he has given such an historical account of the movement on behalf of working-men,—in order to save them from the delusions and immoralities of “Secularism,” as it is called,—as will be very acceptable to Christians who are anxious to secure the same good in other densely populated towns. Let Ministers and others, who attempt this highest style of benevolence, respect the intellect of this important class, as well as try to affect their hearts, and we are convinced that they will never fail of an audience nor of respectful attention.

Poems. By Edward Quillinan. With a Memoir by William Johnston. London: Moxon. 1853.

The Lusiad of Luis de Camoens, Books 1 to 5. Translated by Edward Quillinan. With Notes by John Adamson, K.T.S. and K.C. of Portugal, Corresp. Memb. Roy. Acad. of Sciences of Lisbon, F.L.S., F.R.G.S., &c. &c. &c.

THAT Mr. Quillinan was a man of taste, of poetic feeling, and of literary accomplishment, we are ready to allow; but a man may be all this, without being a poet, in the proper sense of the word; and we should hesitate to apply that honourable appellation to Mr. Quillinan. It is true that there exists no one standard, to which all agree, which will decide, satisfactorily to all, upon the pretensions of an aspirant to poetical honours. Between the undoubted poet, and the man who is unquestionably not a poet, there is a certain class of rhyming authors, upon whose position, on the one side or the other, there will be a diversity of opinion. Mr. Quillinan is one of this class. Wordsworth, writing to him, in 1837, says, “This very day Dora has read to me your poem again: it convinces me, along with your other writings, that it is in your power to attain a permanent place among the poets of England. Your thoughts, feelings, knowledge, and judgment in style, and skill in metre, entitle you to it; and if you have not yet succeeded in gaining it, the cause appears to me merely to lie in the subjects which you have chosen.” We hope we shall not be considered as opposing the opinions of Wordsworth, when we state it as our belief, that Mr. Quillinan has not attained “a permanent place among the poets of England.” Whether he was qualified so to do, is another question: Wordsworth says he was. Our business is with the harvest; Wordsworth spoke but of the promise of the harvest; and we all know how deceitful such promises are.

We should be inclined to speak more severely on the demerits of the volume of *Poems*, had it been published by its Author; but, coming forward as a posthumous publication, our remarks of censure could, of course, only be directed to those who have sent it into the world. There

are many elegant poems in this volume, calculated to have amused the author in their composition, and his *friends* in the perusal; but to the world at large—who, however much they might respect Mr. Quillinan and his friends, are bound by no particular ties to take delight in his third-rate poetry—they are destitute of interest. Though we are not of those who say, that we have sufficient already of what is beautiful and good in the world of letters, we still feel that we have enough to make us independent of anything but what is truly *beautiful* and good. An ardent admirer of Wordsworth, Mr. Quillinan has attempted to write on similar subjects, and in a similar style, to his great master. But he appears to us to have failed, retaining the simplicity without the poetry. We allude here to the treatment of common, every-day occurrences,—themes difficult, indeed, of proper management, as the frequent failure of Wordsworth himself sufficiently proves. If we were to class Mr. Q., as to his poetical merits, we should be disposed to give him a place by Sir C. Elton and John Kenyon,—names now almost unknown to fame.

Mr. Q. was born in 1791; was a lieutenant in the army till he was thirty; was the son-in-law, first of Sir Egerton Brydges, and then of Wordsworth. He died in 1851. His translation of the first five books of the "*Lusiad*" is very creditable to him as a Portuguese scholar, and as a man of refined taste. Of Mr. Q. himself we would speak with all respect, as of a gentleman of very respectable literary attainments; nor would we, for one moment, censure him for having *written* these poems, often, doubtless, with a view to soothe his troubled heart; but we doubt not that, if all the poetry in the kingdom which has been written for the same purpose, and of equal merit, was to be brought out from its hiding-place, the conscientious reader of all published poetry would have a task imposed upon him from which we should pray to be exempted.

The Eggs of British Birds, displayed in a Series of Engravings, copied and coloured from Nature. With Descriptions of British Birds. By C. Jennings. Bath: Binns and Co. 1853.

THIS little work is well fitted to produce in the minds of young people a love for the study of natural history. Such a taste is among the most desirable that youth can acquire. These pages afford much instruction as to the habits of birds, and many corrections of popular errors.

The illustrations are clear and beautiful; and we can recommend the work as an excellent gift-book for young people.

Celebrated Jesuits.—Vol. I. A Saint, a Doctor, and a Regicide.—Vol. II. A Cardinal, a Mandarin, and a Refugee. By the Rev. W. H. Rule. London, 1852–3.

THE author of these interesting volumes is already known to many of our readers, by a work of similar character, entitled, "*The Brand of Dominic; or, the Inquisition; at Rome Supreme and Universal.*" That modest, but able, performance prepared us to expect much, both of entertainment and instruction, from the same felicitous and learned pen; nor have our hopes been disappointed. These striking portraits,

selected from the famous Society of Jesus, may fitly surround and illustrate that very faithful picture of the Inquisition. Looking at the features of these strange fanatics, as delineated in the pages before us, we no longer wonder at the lurid fires kindled under the auspices of that iniquity of the Middle Age; but only the more fervently pray,—that the long reign of terror which was then suspended over Europe may never be permitted to darken and desolate the lands of Protestant freedom.

The peculiar value of these volumes consists in the amount of novel and interesting facts afforded to the reader, in a space so brief, and a manner so impartial. The fruit of so much learning has seldom been communicated in language so simple and unpretending. As there is no pedantry, on the one hand, so, also, is there no false sentiment, on the other. These biographies betray none of the prevalent tendencies to hero-worship. In the hands of writers determined to be effective, they would have been something very different,—more brilliant, but less trustworthy, and, to our minds, far less valuable and engaging. The “Jesuit Saint” has before this been canonized by Protestant genius; but Mr. Rule betrays none of this weakness, so dangerous to the interests both of historical and moral truth. Some will ask,—Has he done full justice to the extraordinary labours of St. Francis Xavier?—Has he awarded him the full meed of praise for the moral grandeur and elevation of his life? In replying to these questions, the opinions even of Protestants will, no doubt, differ; but the limits and design of our author’s sketch must be allowed to enter into a consideration of this point. On the whole, we incline to think Mr. Rule has made a sober and judicious estimate; and it is no part of a historian’s duty to allow the personal excellencies of public men to occupy the great foreground of their picture, and to foreshorten their more serious errors in a dim perspective. It was right to deny to Xavier the honours of an evangelical Missionary, anxious only to preach Christ, and lift the standard of his Cross in a heathen country. To do otherwise would be to put darkness for light, and light for darkness; to call evil good, and good evil. Some further admission of zeal and spirituality, however misdirected, might, perhaps, be due to the character of this sublime enthusiast; yet we are not sure if Mr. Rule’s narrative would warrant more than the expression of regret with which he remarks the application of Xavier’s energy and talents to an object less than the salvation of souls, according to the Redeemer’s own appointment and provision.

The other lives in these volumes have the additional interest of novelty. Of some of the Jesuits to whom a place is here given, no separate biography is extant; and particulars of some have never hitherto been given in the English language. The account of John Adam Schall, the “Jesuit Mandarin,” who propagated the Romish traduction of Christianity in the Empire of China, will be found full of interest at the present moment. It is a curious and saddening narrative, suggestive of the unsearchable mystery of Providence.

We may characterize this work, in a single word, as *genuine*. The subject is highly engaging, and even popular; yet the spirit of book-making has neither prompted the design nor influenced the execution. It is simple, truthful, unaffected, abounding in curious and novel particulars, and exhibiting the golden product without the tedious process of research. The great charm of these Lives is due, in no small degree, to the absence of the controversial spirit. The narrative is direct

and uninterrupted, and the style appropriately neat. No warm dispute delays the historic flow, or mars the tranquil picture; and the occasional expression of a quiet and sarcastic humour serves only to illustrate and lighten the more sombre parts. To Mr. Rule, we think, the literary world will look for some yet greater undertaking, in the same sphere of labour. If he should apply his great learning and sound judgment to the production of a History of the Monastic Orders, and furnish us with a "plain, unvarnished tale" of their virtues and demerits, we should then have less occasion to lament that Dr. Southey's most cherished purpose was never fulfilled.

Sunday Services at Home, for Young Children. By Different Authors. Edited by the Countess of Ducie. Second Edition. London, 1852.

THIS is a laudable attempt to supply an obvious deficiency in the simpler literature of theology. It is admitted that books, adapted to the capacity and wants of children, form a pleasing feature in the present aspect of the world of letters; but all persons concerned in the religious education of the young, must have felt the want of something more brief, intelligible, and interesting, than the majority of sermons used for family reading. We fear that the Sabbath-evening exercise is often neglected, under cover of such a plea. The object of the pretty volume before us, is to supply this serious desideratum, and render this excuse more futile. The addresses are contributed by different authors, and present a considerable variety of subject and treatment, but all in a style of brevity and purity which make them very suitable for children of tender years. It is gratifying to find a lady of rank exercising her influence and talents in this direction, instead of editing (like many of her fashionable sisters) a number of frivolous letters from the Continent, or repeating the follies of society in a novel of factitious sentiment and delusive tendency.

The Private Life of Daniel Webster. By Charles Lanman. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

THIS is a pamphlet spaced out into a volume,—one of those hybrid productions which create an unfavourable impression at first sight. On looking more closely into the book, two things puzzle us: first, that a man of such slender attainments should have obtained the post of Private Secretary to Mr. Webster; and, secondly, that with such constant opportunities for the study of that great man's character, he should have been able to produce nothing better than the miserable fragment before us. This is the more extraordinary, since there has been evident exertion to gather even these scanty memorials. Gleanings from newspapers, gossiping stories, extracts from Miss Martineau's "Letters," and Miss Mitford's "Recollections," and even the Dedications prefixed to the six volumes of Mr. Webster's published writings, all serve to swell the volume. Commonplaces abound on every page. We are informed, as a very remarkable circumstance, that when the statesman "was in his tenth year, his mother prophesied that he would become eminent;" as though such predictions had not been made ever since mothers had sons to boast of. And, by way of illustrating his hero's profound sagacity, we are told that "Mr. Web-

ster once remarked to the writer, that no man could become eminent in any profession, and especially in the law, without the hardest and most laborious study." Mr. Lanman's great object is apparently his own glorification. He loses no opportunity of exhibiting himself in good company, and is perpetually recounting such trivial incidents as the following: "We went in an easy double carriage, and the writer held the reins!" "The writer was also privileged to wet a line for trout, while Mr. W. sat in his carriage and looked on," &c., &c. The description of Marshfield, with its various buildings and outhouses, the list of paintings and curiosities, with a catalogue of the library, suggests the idea of a bill of sale; and a detailed history of agricultural improvements strongly resembles the cockney accounts of a Chiswick *fête*. To employ Mr. Lanman's elegant phrase, it is "precious seldom" that such a futile attempt at authorship has fallen in our way; and, having once seen himself in print, he will do wisely not to tempt fate and the critics by a second venture.

Thomas Carlyle: a Critical Essay. Travellers' Series. London: Whittaker and Co. 1853.

THE task of combating popular error is no light one, especially when the delusion is sustained by the power of a great name and undoubted talents. We gladly welcome any worthy effort to counteract the pernicious influence of Carlyleism,—an influence which has fallen like a moral blight on the heart and judgment of many thousands, chiefly among the educated and literary classes of society. The writings of Carlyle abound in metaphor, query, hint, ridicule, and distrust,—in fact, everything but assertion and definition. He is not a believer in any new doctrine, so much as a disbeliever in all existing systems and creeds. He rejects certain truths, because mysterious; and yet plunges into mysteries deeper still. He speculates and dreams; and his philosophy, if such it be, can only land its followers in infidelity and atheism.

The writer of the Essay before us approaches his subject with no shrinking timidity, and grapples with it fairly and boldly. He analyses, in turn, the style, teaching, and tendency of Carlyle's writings; and although the examination is severe, it cannot be termed unfair or captious. The style is clear, vigorous, and elegant; with a vein of dry humour and keen satire, that renders it most pleasant reading. This little work is calculated to do essential service, and we hope to see it in extensive circulation.

Goethe's Opinions on the World, Mankind, Literature, Science, and Art. Translated by Otto Wenckstern. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1853.

IT was rather an ingenious idea to take the pith of Goethe's published sentiments and opinions, and embody it in a separate volume. The extracts are from his published correspondence and conversations; none are from his poetical works. The latter present a rich harvest of extracts; but the sentiments he puts into the mouths of his characters may only be appropriate to the character, and not expressive of his own turn of thought. We will make a few quotations, as the best means of indicating the style of thought of so distinguished a philosopher. First, as to politics:—

"Which is the best government? That which teaches self-government."

"The abolition of capital punishment leads to Lynch-law and Vendetta."

"A mind filled with abstract ideas, and inflated with conceit, is ripe for mischief."

As to philosophy:—

"I have read Monsieur Degerando's *Histoire Comparative des Systèmes de Philosophie*. It reminded me of my life and thought from early youth; for all possible opinions pass, from time to time, through our heads, some historically, some productively. The perusal of this work impressed again upon my mind—and the author, too, says as much—that the various modes of thought result from the various qualities of men; and that consequently a general and uniform conviction is simply an impossibility. The great thing, after all, is to know on which side we stand, and where. This knowledge makes us satisfied with ourselves, and just to others."

As to the English:—

"Is it their derivation, or their soil, or their free constitution, or national education—who can tell? But it is a fact, that the English appear to have the advantage of every other nation. There is in them nothing turned and twisted, and no half-measures and after-thoughts. Whatever they do, they are always 'complete men.' Sometimes they are 'complete' fools, I grant you; but even their folly is a folly of some substance and weight."

"The enjoyment of personal liberty, the conscious pride of the English name, and the respect it commands from all other nations,—these are a benefit even to the children, who, in their families and in their schools, are treated with greater respect, and left in the enjoyment of greater happiness and freedom, than the children in Germany."

"Great objects and a lively sense of truth and justice are very rare among our men of letters. They pet and puff one another; they are disgusted with what is truly great, and would gladly put it down, that they themselves may become more conspicuous. Such is the mob of them; and the few distinguished individuals are not much better."

Practical wisdom:—

"There are but two ways which lead to great aims and achievements,—energy and perseverance. Energy is a rare gift: it provokes opposition, hatred, reaction. But perseverance lies within the affordings of every one; its power increases with its progress, and it is but rarely that it misses its aim."

"Few men are open to conviction; but the majority of men are open to persuasion."

As to style:—

"Almost all the English write well; they are born orators and practical men, with a turn for the real."

"Generally speaking, an author's style is a faithful copy of his mind. If you would write a lucid style, let there first be light in your own mind; and if you would write a grand style, you ought to have a grand character."

These extracts will suffice to illustrate the character of this little volume.

The Lives of the Poets-Laureate. With an Introductory Essay on the Title and Office. By Wiltshire Stanton Austin, Jun., B.A., Exeter College, Oxon; and John Ralph, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Richard Bentley.

THE title of this book will awaken interest, and excite expectation, only to disappoint them; at least, in the case of the intelligent and moderately informed reader. A compilation more loosely put together from "multifarious sources;" a larger collection of inaccuracies in dates, and in the names of persons and places; a more off-hand appropriation of the labours of others, with a readier and more careless adoption of their mistakes; a greater number and variety of omissions of the most commonly known facts,—was surely never put forward, with such a claim for correctness, conciseness, and completeness; with such a pretence of inquiry and research; with such an affected abnegation of all effort "to impart to the work, by a copious parade of references, an appearance of industry and learning;" and with such indignant disclaimers, and yet overwhelming evidence, of the mere attempt at book-making. We have no space to make extracts, or even to enter into details; but we feel bound to record our protest against a publication so unworthy of its title and of its object, and against the notion that Messrs. Austin and Ralph sufficiently atone for the faults and blunders of the work by their prefatory deprecation of hostile criticism, on the ground that "the existence of errors in a volume, the contents of which are spread over such a space of time, cannot be matter of surprise." Occasional errors may deface other works, without destroying, and sometimes without materially affecting, their value; but Messrs. Austin and Ralph should know, and, if they do not, must learn, that Histories and Biographies cease to be worth any thing when they cease to be accurate.

The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and to the Church. By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Fourth Edition. London: Murray. 1852.

IT was intended that two or three pages only should be devoted to a notice of this work, at the close of this Number. But, on examination, it has been found to contain so much of what is "contrary to sound doctrine," that it has been deemed advisable to make it, in connexion with another kindred work, by the same author, the subject of a more lengthened article. We shall, therefore, say little of it for the present. The writer expresses himself as being "bound by education, and hereditary attachment to those *evangelical* principles in which he was nurtured, to call attention to the external truths, on which the doctrines of grace are dependent." How far the "principles" of the son are in accordance with those of the father, will be a point of curious inquiry on the part of the reader, who will not have proceeded far in the perusal of the book, ere he will discover the true *Alma Mater* by whom he has been nurtured. Suffice it to say, that the great object of the book—somewhat disguised in the title-page—is to prove that the doctrine of the Incarnation involves the necessity and the efficacy of what the author himself agrees to call "the *sacramental system*." The character and value of his reasoning on that subject, and others connected with it, will be shown in a future Number.

Poets of England and America: being Selections from the best Authors of both Countries, designed as a Companion to all Lovers of Poetry. With an Introductory Essay. London: Whittaker and Co. 1853.

If the effects of beautiful poetry may be enhanced by beautiful typography, this volume will prove doubly welcome to readers of taste and feeling. It issues from the press of one of the most elegant printers of the day, and is a favourable specimen of his art.

The poetic samples given in this selection are worthy to be framed with such decorative skill. They are chosen from the elder and later masters of song, in almost equal proportions; and we have been struck, in the perusal, at the kindred spirit breaking from the Muse at these two distant periods; while that of the intermediate eighteenth century, even in its highest mood, is far different in utterance, and wanting in the same delicacy, simplicity, and depth. Thus, while Thomson is not without merits of his own, he suffers from the false taste peculiar to his age. His Muse had not profited by her own graceful sentiment, to disdain "the foreign aid of ornament;" but, like many of her earthly sisters, seems to have mistrusted the beauty that is wholly "unadorned." If we want to find a counterpart to the natural graces and genuine feeling of the Elizabethan poetry, we must look for it nearer to our own day,—in poems more highly cultivated, but still "rooted in truth and flowering into beauty." In the opening pages of this dainty volume we have a good example of this fact, afforded by these few lines of Shelley. Is it not as though the soul of Herrick had transmigrated into Shelley's person, and lost all its customary coarseness, and doubled all its natural refinement, in making the exchange?

TO —.

"MUSIC, when soft voices die,
Vibrates in the memory;
Odours, when sweet violets sicken,
Live within the sense they quicken;
Rose-leaves, when the rose is dead,
Are heap'd for the beloved's head;
And so thy thoughts, when thou art gone,
Love itself shall slumber on."

It may inspire some confidence in the Editor of this Selection, to extract his brief remark upon these lines:—"This little poem, for condensation, melody, and beauty, is a perfect gem." The reader has every reason to depend upon a taste so pure and delicate as this.

Christ our Life. By the Rev. W. Willan. London: Partridge and Oakey. 1853.

THIS little work bears evidence of its having proceeded from a heart glowing with the subject to which it is devoted, and is written in a style well calculated to convey the warmth of the writer to the spirit of his reader. In some sort, a manual of the leading points of "the theology of the heart," and of the things pertaining to salvation, it is experimental and practical, rather than didactic. It may, therefore, with great advantage, be added to the books which are used as "*companions*," in the closet or the study, for the purpose of stirring up "pure minds, by way of remembrance," on the subjects which are helpful to godly experience and practical holiness. The style is simple and chaste, yet vivid and striking; and we very heartily commend it to our readers.

History in Ruins. A Series of Letters to a Lady, embodying a Popular Sketch of the History of Architecture, and the Characteristics of the various Styles which have prevailed. A Hand-Book of Architecture for the Unlearned. By George Godwin, F.R.S. With Illustrations. London: Chapman and Hall. 1853.

AN admirable introduction to the study of architecture for young people, containing nothing difficult of comprehension, and not fatiguing the mind with hard words. The history of the art is unfolded with great simplicity, and the chief styles and buildings alluded to are neatly illustrated. We confidently recommend "History in Ruins" to the general reader as a work the fidelity of which may be relied upon; Mr. Godwin's position as Editor of the "Builder" offering a guarantee for ample and accurate information on the various and interesting topics embraced in his volume.

A Brief Argument against the present Law affecting Marriage with a deceased Wife's Sister. By the Knight of Kerry. London: Hatchard and Son.

THIS is one of the most recently issued of many publications on a subject which, we believe, is daily exciting deeper interest, and which, we are sure, on many grounds, is daily increasing in importance. Indeed, the question is one to which justice cannot be done, if it be taken up hastily, or looked at superficially; and as we shall probably enter upon a full consideration of the subject at no distant period, we shall at present abstain from any expression of our own opinions, and from any lengthened remarks upon the work before us.

The writer evidently appreciates the difficulty of his position in having allowed himself but limited space for the examination of a large subject; and is careful to tell the reader that he does "not pretend to discuss every objection urged against the alteration of the existing law, but simply such as are most commonly put forward and most strongly relied upon by the opposite side." In the same spirit he states that one of the principal objects of the publication is "to direct, by marginal references, those who wish to examine into the question more thoroughly, to such documents as deal with it most fully and distinctly." It is, perhaps, in the latter respect that the pamphlet is most effective, though the Knight of Kerry is evidently well acquainted with the position he has taken up, and defends it with tact and spirit.

The Poetry of Wordsworth: a Critical Essay. Travellers' Series. London: Whittaker and Co. 1853.

THIS is a calm examination of the merits and demerits of a popular poet; and is not disfigured by the partialities and prejudices which have generally carried his commentators to absurd extremes. After making all proper deductions, the writer places Wordsworth high on the slope of Parnassus; although, perhaps, no position short of the actual summit is likely to satisfy his more enthusiastic admirers.